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ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE
PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY
VOLUME VIII · NUMBER VI
OCTOBER 1920

EDITED BY
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



PUBLISHED AT
SEVENTEEN-NINETY BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

LONDON: MESSRS. BROMHEAD, CUTTS & Co., LTD.
18 CORK STREET, BURLINGTON GARDENS

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER DECEMBER 16, 1913, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

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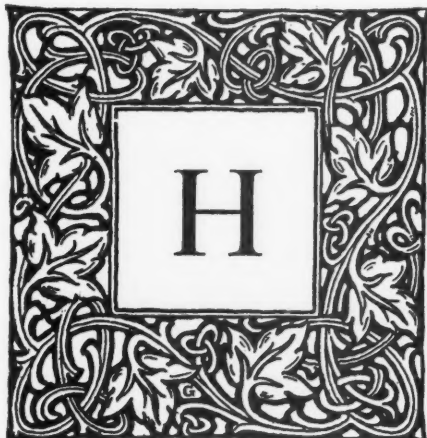
CHRIST

ST. PETER

FIG. 1. CIMABUE: TRIPTYCH
Collection of Mr. Carl W. Hamilton, New York City

ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VIII NUMBER VI · OCTOBER MCMXX

A NEWLY DISCOVERED CIMABUE



HOW far we Americans have travelled in one generation! The same collector who thirty years ago would have bought nothing that was not Barbizon, who then had no familiarity with other names in Italian art than Raphael and Leonardo and Michelangelo, will now send out runners to secure him Cavallinis, Margaritones, Vigorosos and Guidos, Berlinghieris and Deodatis—or at least pictures of their glorious epoch, whether, in each case, correctly attributed or not.

The truth is that this period, for all that it is now becoming fashionable, so to speak, has not yet been studied in sufficient detail to make sure that the names affixed to these impressive works are actually those of the artists who created them, or, indeed, in some cases, even of the School to which they are supposed to belong. Having myself been led, in the brief intervals of work forced on me, as on everyone, by the great manquake which has overtaken the world, to a deeper study of the monuments in all forms of art in the centuries preceding the period of the Renaissance, to which I had especially devoted myself till then, I have become aware of two things which bear upon what I have to say here—one, that this was perhaps the very greatest period of art, since the Greeks, in the world's history; and the other, that it has not been studied, on its pictorial side at least, with scholarly conscientiousness.

I need not go further afield than our own collections to illustrate both points. One instance will suffice. Two rarely beautiful "Madonnas" have recently come to New York as "Cavallinis." If other

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aliens, even as desirable and invaluable as these, arrived with such queer papers, our police would scarcely have allowed them to land in our now so inaccessible Hermit-Empire. Both these masterpieces—for they are no less—have come from Spain, where, apparently, they have been from the beginning. Why are they called Cavallini? Why are they Italian at all? No reason seems to be forthcoming, except that their unknown begetter and the great Roman artist both lived in that uncharted period of painting which we call pre-Giottesque.

Reserving to myself the pleasure of publishing on another occasion what I have to say about these so-called Cavallinis, and perhaps about the way the great Dugento and Trecento names have been misapplied to the various hieratic Madonnas and impressive Saints that have recently arrived—just as recklessly as, twenty years ago the great Renaissance names used to be sprinkled over Italian paintings of a later style—I want here to speak of a Triptych belonging to Mr. Carl W. Hamilton, which I venture to attribute to Cimabue.

Yes, to Cimabue!

I should have preferred to include all I have to say on the subject—and it is not a little—in a study I am preparing on the painting of this period, for I confess that the slapdash way of presenting a picture grows more and more repugnant to me. As however, New Yorkers have already had the privilege of seeing the original, it is but fair that other readers of "Art in America" should have a chance to make acquaintance with it, through a reproduction at least. Here and now I can offer only a few words of introduction. They will be but an intimation of what I hope some day to say about Cimabue.

A half length figure of Our Lord occupies the middle panel of the Triptych. On His right is St. Peter: on the left, St. James.* (Fig. 1).

Our Lord is seen full face in the act of blessing. In His left hand is an open book, on the parchment leaves of which are inscribed in magnificent uncials the words EGO SUM LEX MUNDI. The arrangement of the right hand is peculiar in that the middle and index fingers are crossed. It would be interesting to know what it signifies.

One wonders for whom the blessing is intended, for the expression of the countenance of Christ is not necessarily benevolent. It has

*The middle panel is 31 by 22 inches. The side panels 26½ by 14½ inches each. The curved tops are modern.



FIG. 2. GUIDO DA SIENA: ALTARPIECE DATED 1470
Academy, Siena

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perhaps more of the super-Emperor judging rebellious Byzantines than of the much earlier Good Shepherd, or the much later Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Yet He looks just, if severe, and calm, if slightly disdainful. He certainly is not the furiously indignant Christ Who appeared not infrequently to appalled artists in the twelfth century and even later.

Peter is the rather square-headed, curly-bearded, choleric creature of affectionate Mediaeval tradition. He does not grasp the Keys, and the jewelled Cross is merely inserted, not held, in his right hand. This, too, must have had some symbolical notion behind it. We find it almost universally in Byzantine and Byzantinizing art down to Duccio's great "Majesty." It would be absurd to assume that the painters of that style could not indicate grasp and grip had they not deliberately avoided it, as, indeed, on into much later times, certain artists, not the meanest, avoided representing the Holy Child as adequately supported in the arms of His Mother.

Who the third figure is we should be at a loss to know were it not for the small cockle shell on his right shoulder. That vouches for his being the Saint who drew to his shrine in the farthest west of the Mediaeval world almost as many pilgrims as wandered to Rome or even to Jerusalem. St. James is serene and gracious. With both hands he holds a scroll.

He really holds it. Does not his quite adequate action suggest the reason for the lack of sufficient support for the Cross or even the Keys of Peter? The more sacred the object, the more self-sustaining. The Cross needs no support at all, the Keys only a little more, the Scroll enough.

Each figure is framed in by a narrow border of geometrized floral design and jewel-like colour.

I do not like to say much about colour. Not that I do not enjoy it, not that I do not regard it as important. But until the reproduction of colour has become almost as satisfactory as that of line and mass, the reader has no control, and the writer can abandon himself to any orgy of verbiage that facility inspires. And besides, colour is as yet too much of a sensation and too little of an idea to be a subject for precise, let alone tolerably rational discourse.

For all of which reasons I shall, as is my wont, say but little of the colour. What is most striking and even unexpected about it is that it is so blond and limpid. Thanks to the horrid state in

which most paintings before Giotto have come down to us, we are accustomed to think of them as heavy, grim and opaque. But here, for a miracle, we have a well preserved work, and lo! it shows no dirty green underpainting, no rope-like contours, no squalid shadows, none of the repellent griminess that we associate with the thirteenth century. The gold ground is in complete harmony with the rest, and serves to enhance the tone no less than the mass of the figures.

So much for the iconography and the direct appeal of this picture. Let us now attempt to appreciate its more intrinsic value as a work of art.

First the Composition: the three separate figures constitute but one perspicuously concentric and even dramatic design, as free from pomp as it is free from rhetoric; and yet it is grand, monumental. The masses take full possession of the spaces, filling them to overcrowding, as never again till the sixteenth century. They do not shrink timidly into the background, as in dominantly Gothic and Quattrocento design. All converge upon the centre—mass and line, and look. And yet there is no approach to simplicistic balance and rhythms. On the contrary, these are studiously avoided.

The hands play an unusual part. Here again, it took three centuries before a Leonardo appeared to make the hands as important as the face.

The volumes refrain from the slightest suggestion of "cubism," and yet are splendidly geometrical, as in all great art. The masses avoid the slovenly bulge, and the contours the sagging, flabby line of most works carved and painted during the so-called "Dark Ages." And yet they are curiously remote from the revived precision and consequent tightness of a Cavallini.

The drawing is free, the modelling large, or, in the language that has prevailed in my time, "impressionistic." The drapery is faultless and in the grand manner. The technique alone is not quite sure of itself: the light and shade, which is of a quality most unusual in a Mediaeval work, has to be helped out with hatching.

The author of this masterpiece must have held the highest rank among the painters of his day. If we could decide when that day was, it would make it easier to discover who the artist was, for there could not have been many like him.

Let us begin with the most obvious externals.

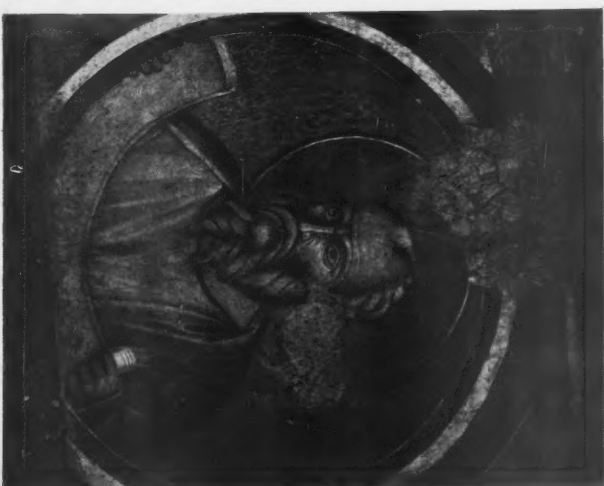
To my knowledge, circumscribed as it is, altarpieces consisting of half length figures framed separately are not readily found before



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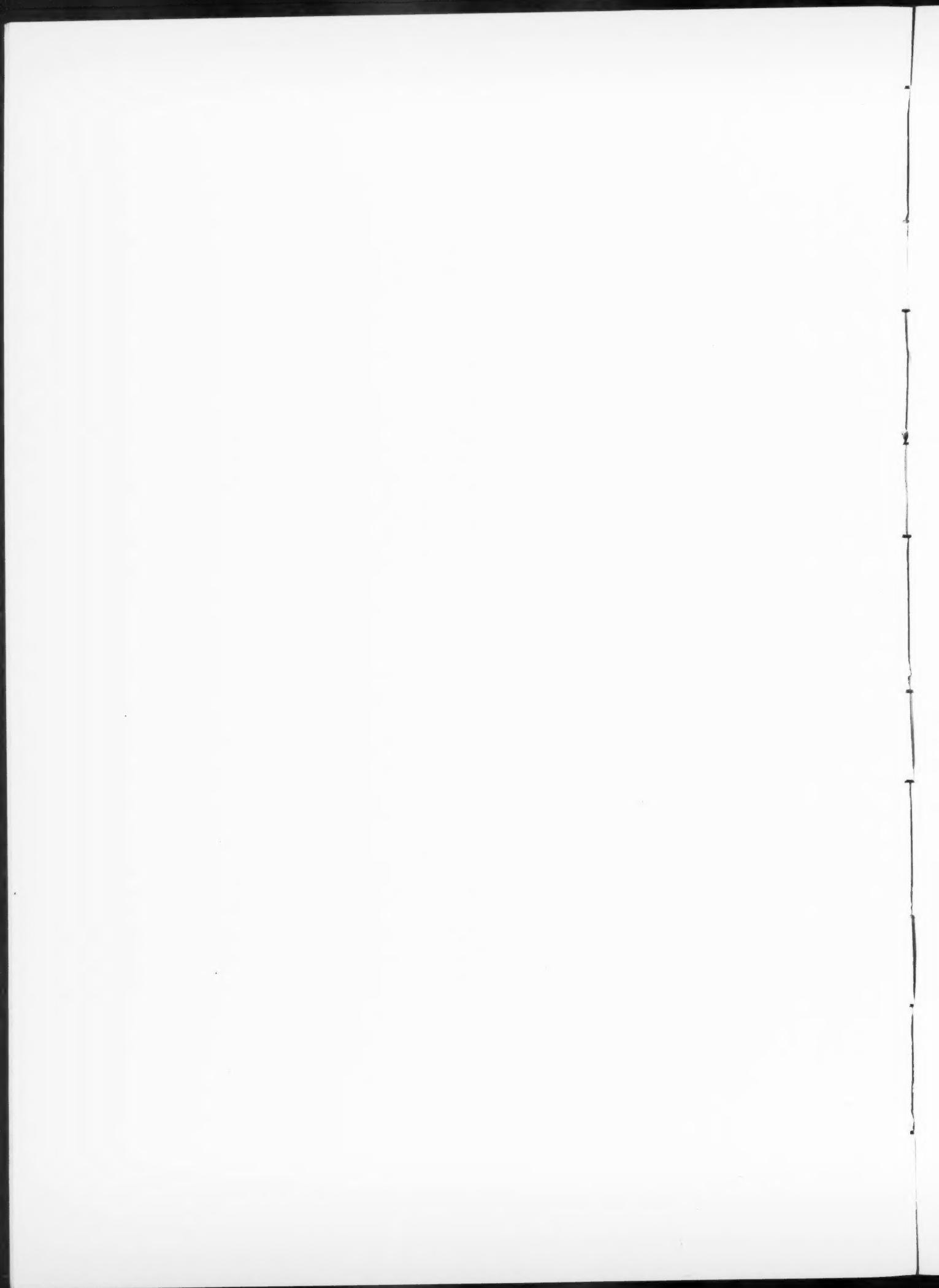
(b)



(c)

FIG. 3. ROMAN FOLLOWER OF CIMABUE: THREE FRESCOS, HEADS
St. Mary Major, Rome

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the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Indeed, I can not recall even one of earlier date. As late as 1270 Guido, in his "Madonna with four Saints" of the Sienese Academy (Fig. 2) does not isolate the figures, although each has its own canopy. These canopies are plainly round arched except for the central arch, which is treffled, and yet it was done in 1270. The tops of our panels, the equivalents of Guido's canopies, are distinctly more advanced. The middle one is all but frankly pointed in the Gothic fashion, while the side ones, although they have been partly renewed, could never have been merely round arched. These definite indications lead us to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, for it was then only that, in Central Italy, Gothic patterns began to be all-pervading.

We come next to the narrow strips of ornament that edge the panels and frame the figures. These are of a Byzantine-Romanesque character. Who does not recall with what gem-like glory, like angels with flaming swords, such strips of ornament edge round the earliest windows of Chartres Cathedral? A close parallel to what we see in this Triptych is to be found in the grim Crucifix with eight scenes from the Passion that used to hang in the Uffizi as No. 4 (Photo. Alinari 30,504). It is a work of the thirteenth century, probably of the third quarter. There are also similar strips on Berlinghieri's famous Crucifix at Lucca, but minuter and tighter. Other instances in Italo-Byzantine painting would not be hard to find. It will suffice, however, to draw attention to one of the latest. It is in Duccio's early Triptych in the National Gallery. The ornamentation has lost all semblance to the floral, retains no continuity, and has become purely geometrical.

We shall now glance at Our Lord's Hand blessing, at James' Scroll, at Peter's Keys, and at the Lettering on the open book, and then have done with the more material sign-marks.

The exact position of the fingers is found everywhere, as far away from Tuscany, even from the probable date of our Triptych, as the Pantocrator in the Byzantine mosaics at Cefalù. It seems to have been something of a fashion in Central Italy during the last quarter of the Dugento, if we may be allowed to conclude from three such conspicuous examples as Guido's Christ in the pediment of his Altarpiece in the Siena Town Hall, the Christ on the ceiling of the Upper Church of St. Francis at Assisi, and the Christ in a *mihrab* arch at the top of a Crucifix by Deodato Orlandi at Lucca. This last is dated 1288, and I doubt whether the other two are more than

ten or fifteen years earlier. (Knowing students will correctly infer that I range myself with those who place Guido's activity in the second and not the first half of the thirteenth century.) As for the Assisi ceiling, I am not aware that serious attempts have been made to date it earlier.

The way a Scroll is rolled and tied is, like everything else in the phenomenal universe, subject to change. Thus, the Christ in the Martorana at Palermo, who crowns Roger King of Sicily holds a scroll that is perfectly flat at top and bottom, and is tied with two separate cords (Photo, Brogi, 11,374). That belongs to the twelfth century. In Guido's "Madonna with four Saints" referred to earlier in this article (Fig. 2) and in another "Madonna" in the Siena Academy (Photo. Anderson, 21,109), as well as in the Christ in the ceiling at Assisi, the scrolls are tied across with diagonal cords, and bulge out at the top very much as in our St. James.

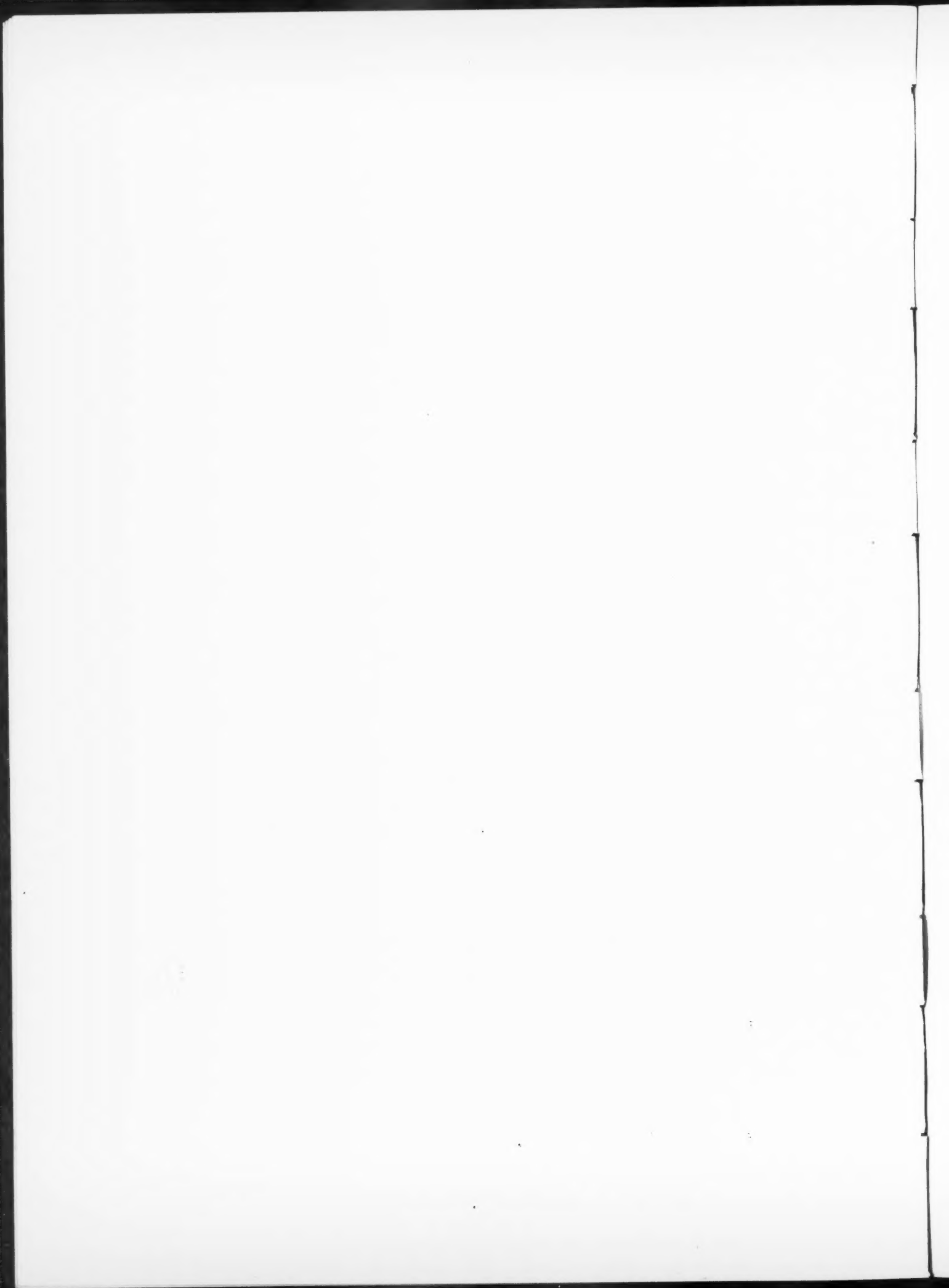
In Keys, too, fashion—that expression of the impulse to get away no matter from or for what, to attain no matter what—prevails. In the twelfth century mosaics decorating the palace chapel of the Norman kings at Palermo, St. Peter carries keys with handles well proportioned and flatly carved at the top, concave below, with simple catches. A century or more later, the handle became perfectly circular and disproportionately small, and the catch more complicated, as we find them in Duccio's early Triptych in the Siena Academy, in Deodato Orlandi's Polyptych of 1301 in the Pisa Gallery, and in another Polyptych of later date in the Jarves Collection (No. 12), ascribed to him, with some likelihood, by Dr. Sirèn.

If we may rely on externals, such externals as the greatest art submits to, perhaps unconsciously, at all events impersonally, our Triptych belongs to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. And, to reinforce this conclusion, there are one or two more items to consider, namely the Lettering and the Halo of the central figure.

The Lettering is an ornate and yet impressive, even monumental, kind of Beneventine uncial. Oddly enough, the Monte Cassino authorities offer 1282 as the date when this kind of character attained its perfection. I venture to claim that quality for our script. The closest approaches to it known to me are in the mosaics at Florence and Pisa. In the scrolls unfurled by the Prophets under the throne in Cimabue's Altarpiece in the Uffizi the aesthetic impression is absolutely identical. A palaeographic analysis would,



FIG. 5. ASSISTANT OF CIMABUE: THE KISS OF JUDAS
Upper Church of St. Francis, Assisi



I am convinced, only confirm this impression, but it would be too tedious to make it here.

Finally, Our Lord's Halo:—each arm of its cross is decorated with five points. That is a rare peculiarity, but it occurs in the Halo behind "Christ as Judge" among the mosaics in the Baptistry of Florence, which we know to have been from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, as well as in the S. Miniato mosaic of 1297.

Having, I trust, succeeded in persuading fellow students that Mr. Hamilton's Triptych is a work of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and having found that the works which in external characteristics stand closest to it are all Central Italian, and assuming at the same time, as we must, that in its style and for its period it is a great masterpiece, I boldly ask:—Who but Cimabue could have been its author?

When I say "Cimabue," I mean the artist who designed the darkened and faded but sublime frescoes, now, but "cloudy symbols of some high romance," in the Transept of the Upper Church at Assisi, the sadly damaged "Madonna with St. Francis" in the Lower Church, the great Altarpiece at Florence, severe and imposing as a Romanesque façade, and the somewhat less impressive but still very wonderful Madonnas (studio work perchance) in the Servi at Bologna and in the Louvre.

If not this genius whom I have in mind when I utter the name "Cimabue," who else could have painted this Triptych?

Among known contemporaries there is but one great enough, the Roman Cavallini; but between him and Cimabue there are the exact differences that obtained nearly two hundred years later between the equally great and kindred artists, Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. The one is precise and schematic as the other is large and spontaneous. And our Triptych is in its style and for its epoch very large and free, not only in conception but in handling as well.

It is true there may have been other great painters at the time. But if Roman, they surely were, like Torriti and Rusuti, closer to Cavallini. There remains but Tuscany and—the "Byzantine question."

That question I can hardly attempt to discuss in this place and at this time. I must beg fellow students to believe that I have carefully considered the possibility that some unknown Greek artist, working in Central Italy, painted Mr. Hamilton's Triptych. I have dismissed the idea as very improbable, and I do not, in fact, regard

it even as a possibility, although some reserve we must make in our present state of ignorance.

We come to this, then, that the Triptych, being certainly not Roman, and almost as certainly not Byzantine, can only be Tuscan, and in that case only by Cimabue.

I will not waste time displaying my acquaintance with the Dugento painters of Tuscany, big and little, to dismiss in the end their claims to the authorship of this picture. I will assume it has been done, and devote the rest of this article to examining whether there is anything in this masterpiece that should prevent its attribution to Cimabue. I shall on the whole, confine myself to more quantitative, formal details, for I have already reiterated my conviction that as a work of art I regard this Triptych as in every way worthy of Cimabue.

Shall we begin with the types? Unfortunately Cimabue's Altarpieces do not furnish close comparisons, and the Assisi frescoes are too darkened and discoloured. Still there are some not uninteresting points to be taken.

As if to prove how very Byzantine our artist still was, the St. James is of a facial type that recalls nothing so much as those in the mosaics of the Martorana and Royal Palace Chapels at Palermo, dating, we remember, from the middle years of the twelfth century.

St. Peter, on the other hand, resembles one of the grand medallion heads painted toward the end of the thirteenth century above the present ceiling at St. Mary Major at Rome (Toesca, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 312 *et seq.*). The resemblance is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated. For the present purpose, the differences are far more important (Fig. 3a). The Roman head looks like a schematization of ours. The locks of the head and beard, for instance, suggest, as compared with those in our St. Peter, the conventionalization of a playing-card rather than a spontaneous creation by no matter how tradition-bound an artist. The most likely inference is that the decorator of St. Mary Major, who manifestly was a Roman reared in the traditions which nourished Cavallini as well, must have acted as assistant to Cimabue in Rome, and that in consequence this Roman painter largely modified his manner, approaching it as closely as he could to Cimabue's.

Indeed, I should not wonder if he was acquainted with the Triptych now before us, and was copying it consciously or unconsciously while frescoing the head we have been examining. Otherwise it

would certainly be a singular coincidence that the only three medallions at St. Mary's that happen to be tolerably well preserved all not only recall the separate figures in our masterpiece, but are related to each other as in our composition. No other, it is true, comes so close as the head recalling Peter. But, despite its more apocalyptic character no one can fail to recognize the likeness of the central medallion (Fig. 3b) to Mr. Hamilton's Christ, nor, although it has been ever so much more transformed, of the third head (Fig. 3c) to our St. James.

Later on, we may return for a moment to these medallions. Here it suffices to conclude that no serious student of the period would regard them as furnishing proof that our Triptych was *not* by Cimabue, but rather the contrary.

We must return to our main thesis, which has now become the quest of the next of kin to the Christ in Mr. Hamilton's Triptych.

I repeat my regret that Cimabue's frescoes at Assisi are too darkened and discoloured to furnish terms for satisfactory comparison. Yet a careful study of the various heads of Our Lord in the different compositions, but especially in the one where He appears over the throne and elders in the midst of seven trumpeting angels (Aubert's *Cimabue*, Plate 25), ends by convincing one that there must have been a resemblance amounting almost to identity. Among more legible works, however, the greatest resemblance of all is to the Christs in the apse mosaics at San Miniato at Florence and in the Cathedral of Pisa.

Making due allowance for the schematization inherent in the craft, at least as practiced in Tuscany toward 1300, and still more for recent restoration, we can easily recognize the same proportions, the same hollow cheeks, the same mouth and beard and hair, and of course the same shade of "Divine Discontent"—especially in the Christ at San Miniato (Fig. 4).

The last-named is dated 1297, and the other, as we know, was three or four years later. Besides, one of the few documents about Cimabue that remain tells us that for this Pisan mosaic he in 1301 began the figure of the Evangelist. Now if at that time Cimabue was, as his younger contemporary, Dante, no mean judge, makes him, the dominant artistic personality of Florence, there is nothing more likely than that the designers of these mosaics should have had a type of Christ that was derived from *his*. And so it follows that the great resemblance of these two mosaic Christs, particularly

of the one at San Miniato, to the one in our painting, can tend only to prove that this painting was by Cimabue.

Among the frescoes in the nave of the Upper Church of St. Francis at Assisi there is one representing the Kiss of Judas (Fig. 5). On entirely independent grounds, I have, along with other students, for many years regarded this as a work close to Cimabue, probably designed, although almost certainly not executed by him. Well! the resemblance of the Christ in that fresco to the one in the Hamilton Triptych, is, in all but expression, close, and, allowing for the difference of medium and difference of hand, singularly close.

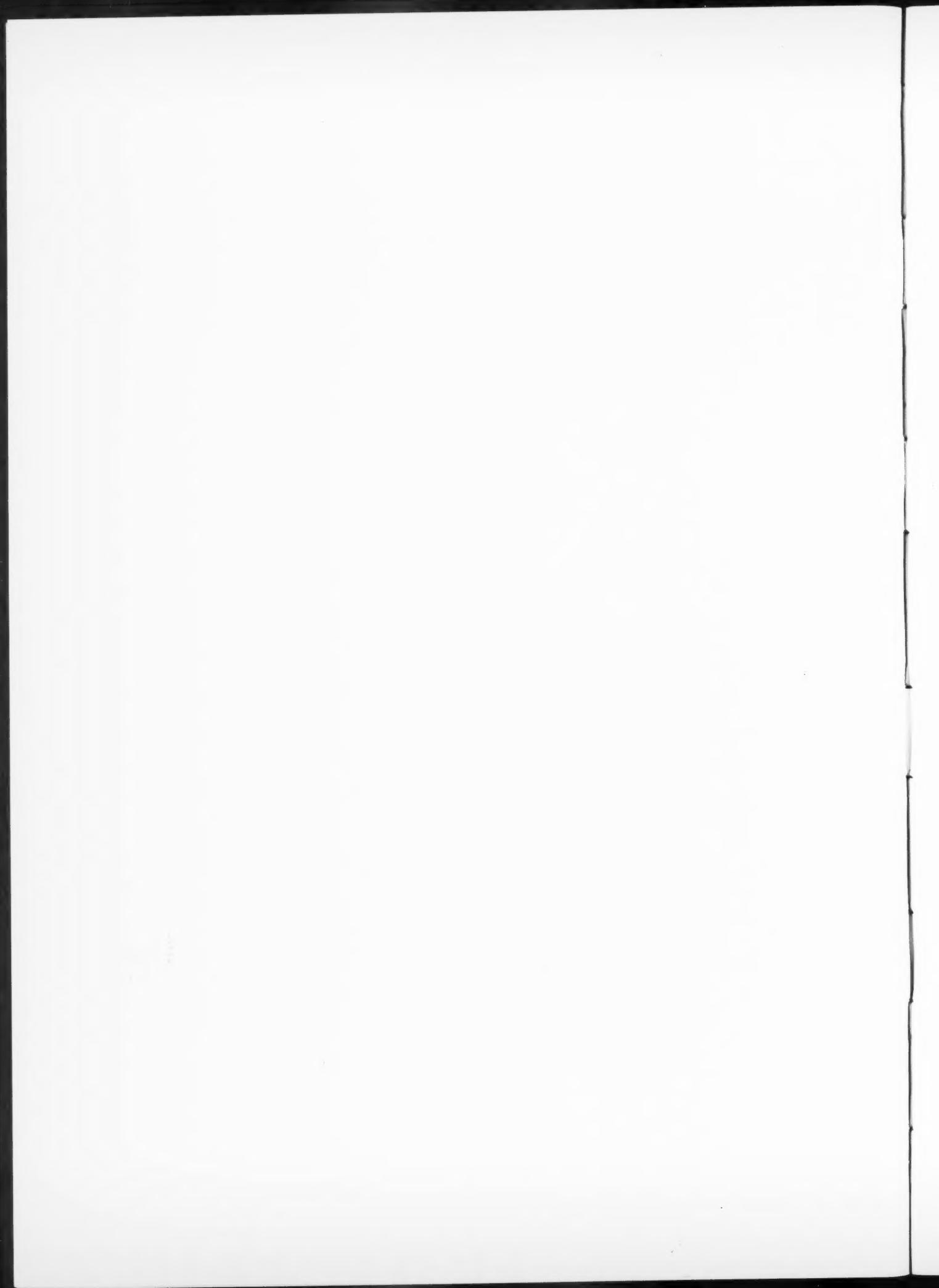
Earlier in this essay it was observed that the three figures of our composition not only amply fill but almost crowd the spaces allotted them, tending, as in all great monumental art, to expand beyond rather than to shrink into their frames. We find this tendency thoroughly exemplified in the Prophets, particularly the outer ones, under the Madonna's throne in the Florence Altarpiece.

It would not only be tedious (which I should not half mind), but, owing to the fact that I cannot furnish adequate reproductions, inconclusive as well (a graver offence!) to proceed at this point to make minute comparisons of hair, folds of drapery, shapes of hands, etc., etc., with similar details in the frescoes at Assisi. I beg the student to believe that I *have* made them all, and at the same time I offer him a reproduction of one of the least darkened and discoloured of the frescoes, the one representing the Apostles gathered at the deathbed of the Blessed Virgin (Fig. 6). If, armed with a powerful glass and enduring patience, he will look closely, he will be rewarded with the discovery of enough points of identity to repay him for his labour. But one item I must insist upon, because to a student with my experience it amounts to geometrical proof. It is the right hand of Our Lady. To me it is inconceivable that the draughtsman who drew it did not also draw the hand of Peter in the Hamilton Triptych.

This Triptych, then, is as surely by Cimabue as scholarship at the present day can ascertain. That being so, a great deal follows that cannot be discussed here. How shall one exaggerate the importance to our better acquaintance of the thirteenth century of a masterpiece like this, in the greatest style, and, what is perhaps even more precious, in marvellous, in almost miraculous preservation? At last we can study the technique and colouring of the panel painting of that great period.



FIG. 6. CIMABUE: FRESCO. APOSTLES AT THE DEATH-BED OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
Upper Church of St. Francis, Assisi



Before leaving the subject for the present, a word must be said about the probable date of this precious Triptych.

It is still very Byzantine. It is tighter than the Assisi frescoes. It is more meticulous than the Florence Altarpiece. Probably, then, it is earlier than any other known work of Cimabue. Is it possible that the master painted it as early as 1272, and in Rome, where he is known to have been sojourning in that year? A little later, but quite likely in Rome. Otherwise why should the Roman painter who worked at St. Mary Major well before the end of the century, have copied these figures?

B. Berenson

THE POLISH RIDER

Painted by Rembrandt van Rijn

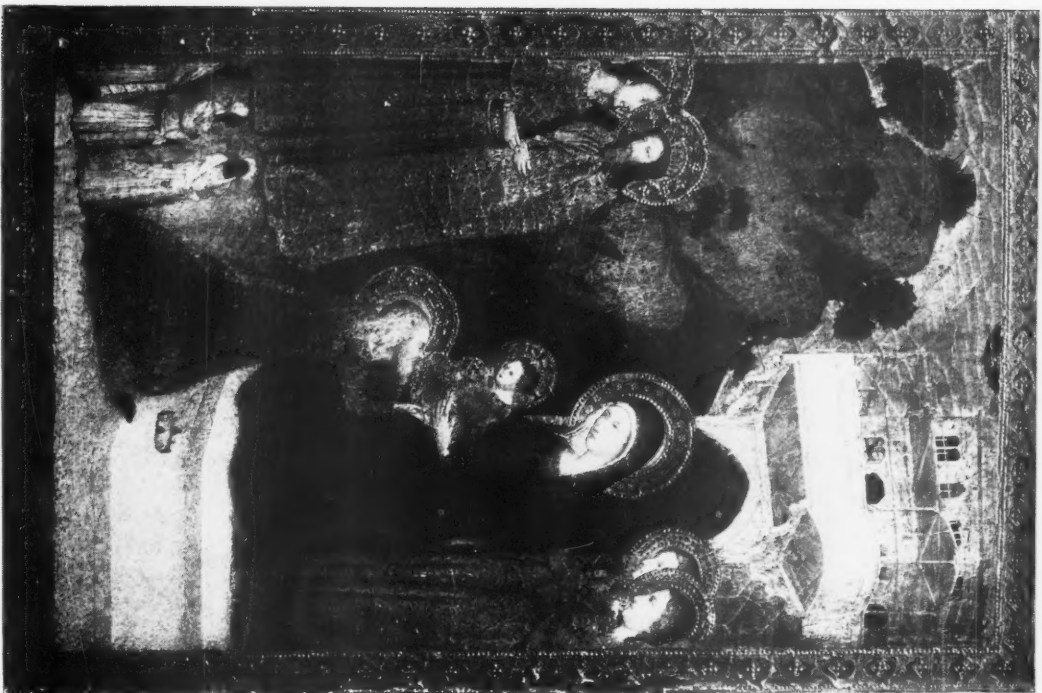
Who is this rider of the tasselled steed
That steps so high and champs the silver bit?
How easy in his saddle doth he sit
Gazing afar, unmindful of its speed,—
As though he looked upon some grassy mead
With all the hanging lamps of heaven lit,
And saw Love there among the shadows flit,
Where Pleasure waits upon them who succeed.

Is it not Youth upon his charger white,
All armed with sword and bow, who rides away
Upon the great adventure that is Life?
His is the task some ancient wrong to right,
Some enemy of God and man to slay,
Or die himself there in the thick of strife!

SOME SIENESE PAINTINGS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

PART TWO

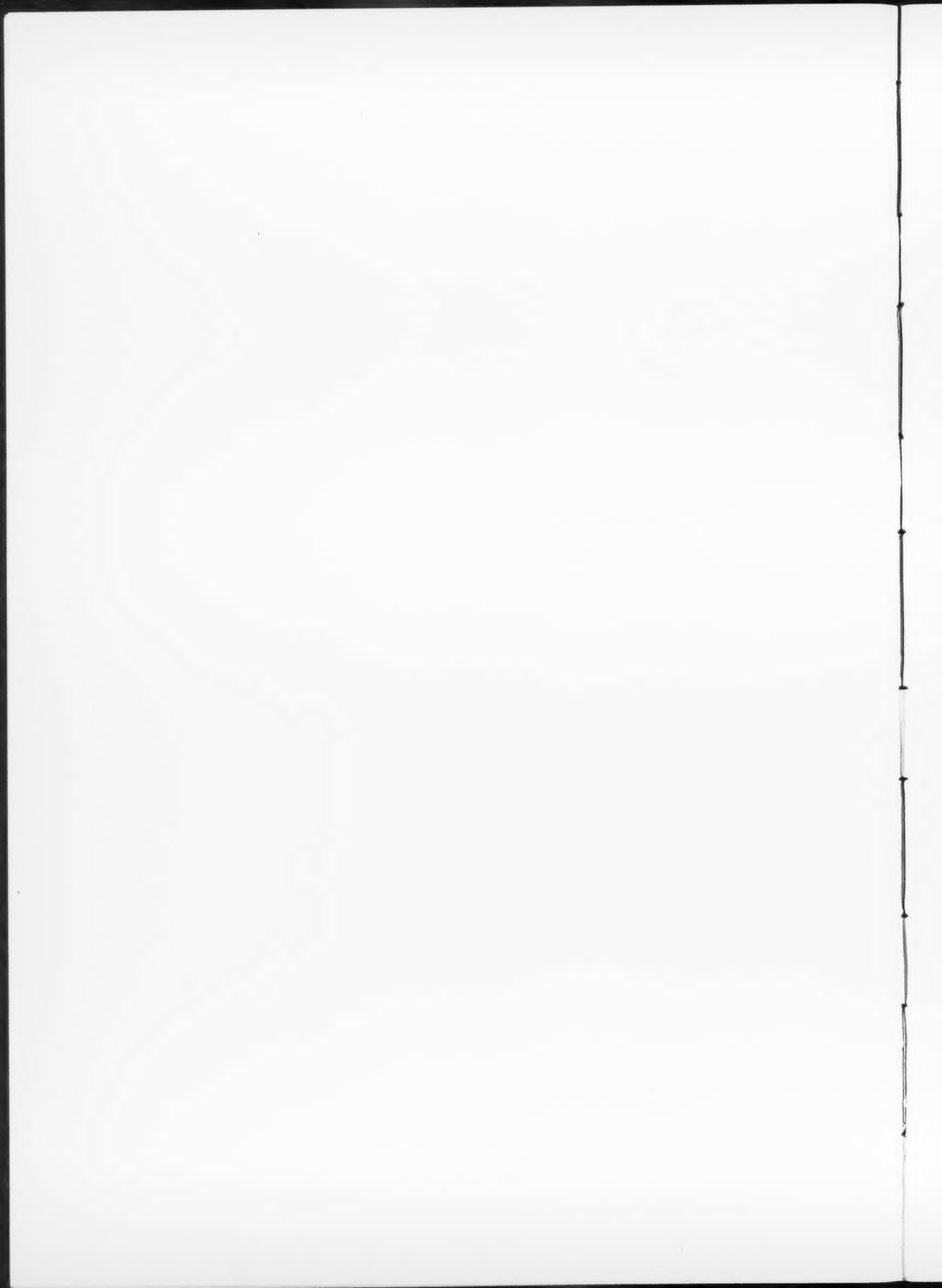
The truly exquisite Adoration of the Magi in the Lehman Collection—so full of gracious sentiment and refined charm—can hardly fail to call up, at a single glance, the magic name of Simone. Its affinities to that painter's art are, indeed, so pronounced as almost to lead us to wonder that it has not already been definitely assigned to the master by some enthusiastic and well-intentioned critic. The painting is, however, assuredly not a work of Simone's hand. The types, notwithstanding their unmistakably Simonesque mould, possess a character and a physiognomy quite peculiar to themselves; the cast of the draperies and the construction of the figures vary considerably from the master's handling of his forms; the drawing and technique betray a manner distinct from his. It is, in fact, quite evident that we have here to do with the production of a close but, at the same time, unusually gifted follower of the Sienese master—of an artist who is far removed from the category of mere superficial imitators, whose style for all its derivative character, is by no means lacking either in distinction, or in a certain marked individuality of its own. Among all the anonymous pupils of Simone whose work is known to us, we can think of none who has more successfully caught the inner spirit of the master's art, and certainly of none who has come nearer to rivalling the peculiar refinement of his manner. Although we possess no indication as to who this delightful artist may have been, there can be little or no doubt that he must have belonged to the group of painters gathered about Simone during the closing years of his career, and more precisely during his sojourn at Avignon. That our picture dates from this Avignon period, or at least from the years immediately following upon Simone's death in that city in 1344, is sufficiently apparent from its style. While we cannot call to mind any other work that can safely be ascribed to the same hand, the painting nevertheless reveals close analogies to two other pictures which certainly belong to the same Avignonese phase of Sienese art. These are a pair of panels representing the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ, in the gallery at Aix-en-Provence. Although honoured by different critics with a variety of



ANONYMOUS FOLLOWER OF SIMONE MARTINI: ADORATION OF MAGI
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City

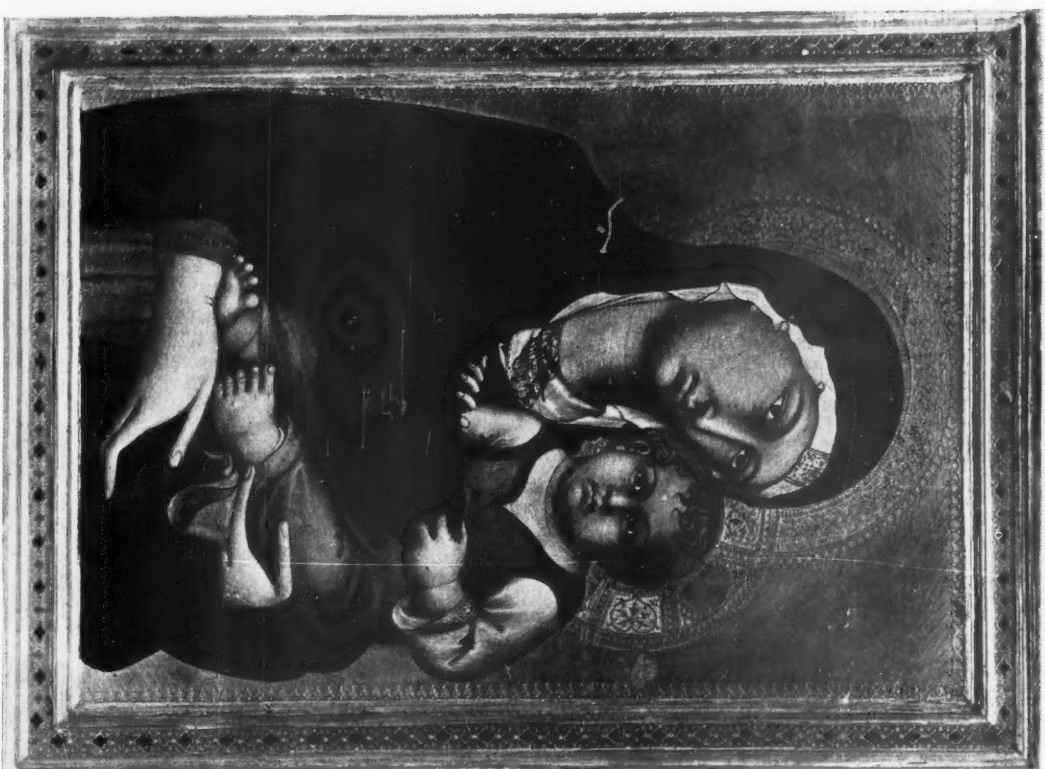


LIPPO MEMMI: CHRIST ON THE CROSS
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

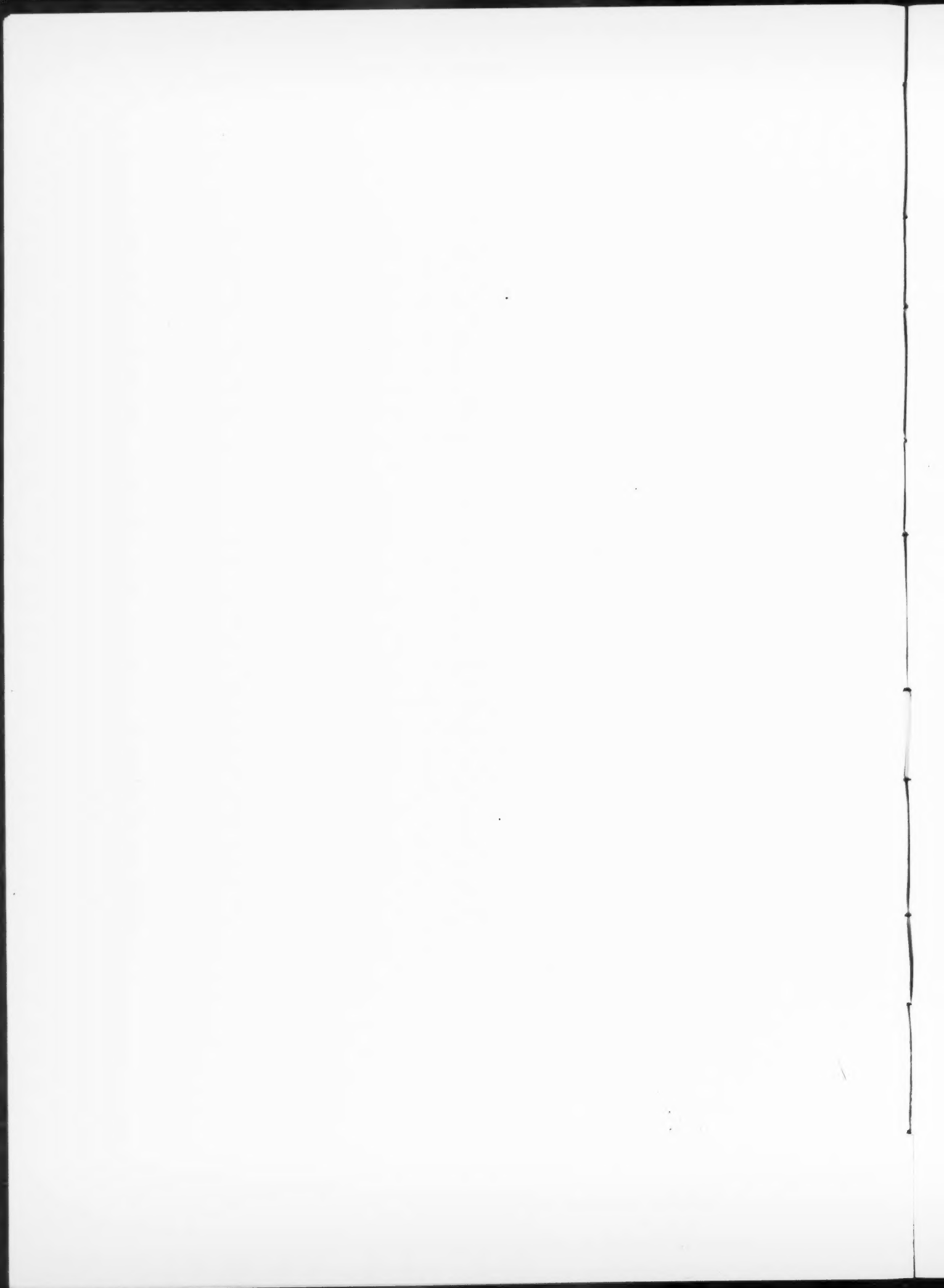




SCHOOL OF LIPPO MEMMI: ST. STEPHEN
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York City



LIPPO DI VANNI: MADONNA AND CHILD
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City



attributions,¹ we have always looked upon these singularly attractive paintings as the work of an as yet unidentified pupil of Simone. Their author, if not identical with the master of the New York Adoration, at least ranks with him as one of the most striking representatives of the later Simonesque tradition, and both painters certainly merit a share of the attention and praise that have hitherto been bestowed, in this connection, almost exclusively upon the so-called "Maestro del Codice di San Giorgio" and the vague and ill-defined Matteo da Viterbo. Unfortunately for purposes of illustration, the only photograph which we possess of Mr. Lehman's picture is such a poor one as to give no idea of the beauty of detail and of execution proper to the original. The life-like heads of the horses in the back-ground, the carefully painted leafage of the trees, the characteristic types of the diminutive Moorish attendants, the ecstatic expressiveness of the head of the adoring King, are all lost in the reproduction, which, at most, can only afford a general impression of the principal figures and of the charmingly practical composition as a whole.

When first seen by us, many years ago, the little Christ on the Cross by Lippo Memmi now in the Boston Museum was a treasured heirloom of the Della Genga family of Assisi, and was fondly held by its owners to be by Giotto! It appeared to us at the time to be an unmistakable work of Lippo Memmi, to whom we later had occasion openly to ascribe it.² After having lost sight of it for over a decade, we were pleased to hear, quite recently, that it had been purchased by the Boston Museum. Although we understand that the attribution to Lippo has been questioned by certain students, the photograph which we have received confirms us in our original opinion that the painting is actually by that artist's hand. Apart from the highly characteristic colouring and technique, of which we have a very distinct recollection, the types themselves point persuasively to Memmi as their author. The little painting, which is executed with the greatest care, is happily in an almost perfect state of preservation, its colour still retaining its primitive clarity and depth. The decorative effect of the whole is greatly enhanced by the rich stamping of the gold ground and by the fine tonality of the gold itself. The St. Stephen of the school of Lippo Memmi in the Blumenthal

¹ The two pictures in question have been ascribed by Prof. Schmarsow to Ambrogio Lorenzetti; by Mr. Berenson to Lippo Memmi, and, more recently (*Central Italian Painters*, 2nd Edition), to Bartolo di Fredi.

² See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1907, p. 84.

Collection—remarkable, alike, for its technical refinement, its strong decorative feeling, and the almost Oriental character of its design—is ascribed to Lippo Memmi. The drawing of the hands, with their exaggeratedly long and attenuated fingers, the peculiar type, and the extraordinary bat-like ears, are in themselves sufficient to contradict this attribution. The picture is, nevertheless, very close to Lippo in many respects, and is certainly by a direct follower of his manner. In style it reminds us more of the work of Naddo Ceccherelli,³ than of that of any other artist of the Simone-Lippo school, but it is clearly not by Cecco. We can suggest no other name. To all appearances we have here the production of an “anonimo” whose marked stylistic idiosyncrasies ought, nevertheless, to permit of the future identification of other works by the same careful hand. An opportunity for some ambitious young Morellian!

Among the early painters of Siena whose artistic personalities have experienced a resurrection during recent years, Lippo di Vanni is not the least interesting. Although this artist's name is frequently to be met with in records of his own and of a later day,⁴ the only authentic works of his hand known to modern criticism up to a decade ago were hardly of a nature to afford the student a sufficient clue to a precise determination of his style. It was only with the publication of a really representative painting by the master—the signed triptych in the convent of SS. Domenico e Sisto at Rome—that a satisfactory conception of Lippo's manner at last became possible. This painting, which, together with its author's name, bears the date of 1358, was first published by us some ten years ago.⁵ With such a thoroughly characteristic work to serve as a basis for further investigation, it was no very difficult matter to identify other productions of Lippo, who stands today with a not inconsiderable list of paintings to his credit.⁶ It was our further privilege to head this list with one of the most attractive, and certainly, from a purely qualitative point of view, by far the finest, picture, among those so far restored to the artist. This was a

³ Having mentioned Ceccherelli, we may take the opportunity of assigning to this rare and little-known artist at least one painting in America which is, in our opinion, a quite unmistakable production of his hand. We refer to a long predella in the Platt Collection containing seven medallion half-figures of Christ in the Tomb, the Virgin and SS. Cosmo, Agnes, Ursula, Margaret, and Blaise. Yet another hitherto unpublished picture by the master is a pleasing but somewhat restored little panel with three figures of SS. Blaise, Catherine and Laurence (or Stephen?) in the collection of Mr. Loeser at Florence. Regarding Ceccherelli, see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, Anno V (1909), pp. 6-14.

⁴ Vanni's name (“Lippo di Vanni”) heads the list of painters in the “Breve dell'Arte de' Pittori Senesi” of 1355. It is also mentioned in various documents between 1344-1375.

⁵ See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, Anno VI, pp. 39-41.

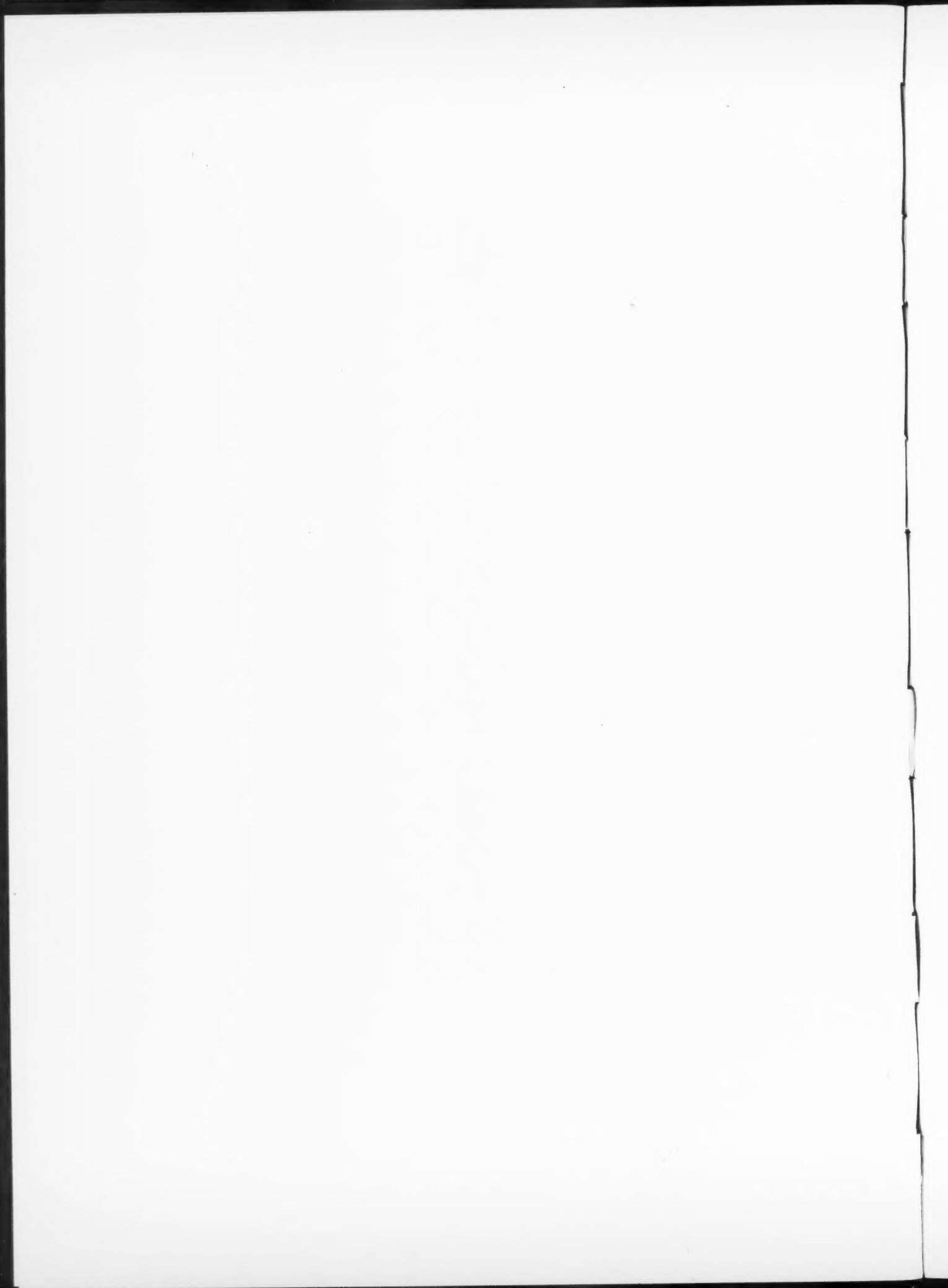
⁶ See G. De Nicola, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, pp. 97-99.



LIPPO DI VANNI: ST. PETER
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City



LIPPO DI VANNI: AN APOSTLE
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York City



panel of the Virgin and Child which, from the moment of its first appearance at Siena in 1901, had been unquestioningly accepted, by all who saw it (ourselves included), as a genuine work of Lippo Memmi, and which, was, indeed, so remarkably close to that master in style, colour, and technique, as fully to explain, if not wholly to excuse, its attribution to Memmi's brush. The picture, which remained in Siena up to the time of its purchase by Mr. C. Fairfax Murray in 1904, was last seen by us in Rome, in the possession of the dealer Imbert, in 1906. It appears afterwards to have become the property of the late Prof. Richard Norton, and was only quite recently acquired by its present owner, Mr. Phillip Lehman, from a well-known London dealer and connoisseur. For the benefit of those of our readers who are unacquainted with the plate accompanying our former note on the painting in question,⁷ we here reproduce it once again. The main purpose of these present lines is not, however, to illustrate anew this attractive and highly decorative Madonna, nor to re-state our reasons for ascribing it to Vanni, but to call attention to certain other panels now in America, which are not only, to all appearances, intimately connected with it, but which, in our opinion, are likewise works of Lippo's brush. These are three in number. One, having for its subject a bearded Saint (in all probability an Apostle) is in the Blumenthal Collection; the others, representing St. Peter and St. Ansanus, are in that of Mr. Lehman. Although purchased at different times and in different parts of Europe, all three panels agree precisely, in their dimensions, with the picture of the Madonna and Child already described; all, moreover, are enclosed in precisely the same original frame-work and stamped along the borders of their gold grounds, with precisely the same delicate design. This exact conformity of size and framing would alone seem sufficient to justify the assumption that the four panels once formed part of a single whole. A careful study of the paintings themselves can hardly fail to confirm this very natural supposition. Despite their varied characterization and their consequent diversity of types, and notwithstanding certain somewhat puzzling inequalities which are due in part at least, to the varying state of preservation of the different panels, the three Saints reveal, on the whole, such a marked similarity of style and execution, and such a close relation, in both these respects, to the group of the Madonna and Child, that we cannot seriously doubt the common origin of all four pictures. The quality

⁷ See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, *loc. cit.*

of the drawing, the treatment of the draperies, even the modelling of the strangely contrasted heads, all point to the work of one and the same artist—in other words, to that of Vanni. Of the three Saints, the youthful Ansanus comes closest in style and feeling to the Madonna, and is so extraordinarily reminiscent of Lippo Memmi in character and expression that, seen alone, it would almost inevitably be mistaken for a genuine creation of that master.⁸ The resemblance to Memmi's style amounts here, in fact, to an all but literal reproduction of that painter's manner. This is less marked in the case of the other two Saints, both of which reflect an intimate study of certain of Simone's figures and types. The St. Peter, more especially, reveals a vigour of modelling and a force of expression which remind us far more of Simone than of Memmi. Very Simonesque, again, is the broad, sweeping design of the Blumenthal Apostle. That these panels are fairly early works of their author is all but certain. Not only do they shew Vanni under the direct, and as yet unbroken spell of Simone's and of Memmi's art, but their very technical handling is still in full accordance with the purer traditions of the earlier half of the Trecento. Their forms are as yet equally innocent of the mannerisms which disfigure the triptych at Rome and of the fullness and freedom of treatment which characterize Vanni's later and more independent manner, as we learn to know it in his Madonna picture at Le Mans.⁹ Of the influence of the Lorenzetti, so noticeable in certain of the artist's works, there is here no trace or sign. We possess, in fact, in these paintings at New York, what seems to be little short of definite proof that Vanni must have begun his career, not as a follower of the Lorenzetti, as has recently been suggested, but as a faithful imitator, and, in all likelihood, as a direct personal pupil, of Lippo Memmi. Although there can be no doubt that the four panels here brought together originally formed part, as we have already said, of a single whole, their unusual rectangular shape and peculiar framing render it questionable if they were ever incorporated in an altar-piece of the elaborate model generally in vogue at the period of their execution. It would appear far more likely that they were either united in such a way as to form a simple "dossale," without pinnacle-pieces or predella, or, as is at least equally possible, that they were

⁸ There can be little doubt that this St. Ansanus was directly inspired by the figure of the same saint in the well-known altar-piece of the Annunciation by Simone and Lippo Memmi, now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, which beautiful work was, in Vanni's day, one of the chief treasures of the Sienese Duomo.

⁹ For a poor reproduction of this panel—in many respects the most important and truly representative of all Vanni's recognizable works—see *Rassegna d'Arte*, May, 1914, p. 104.

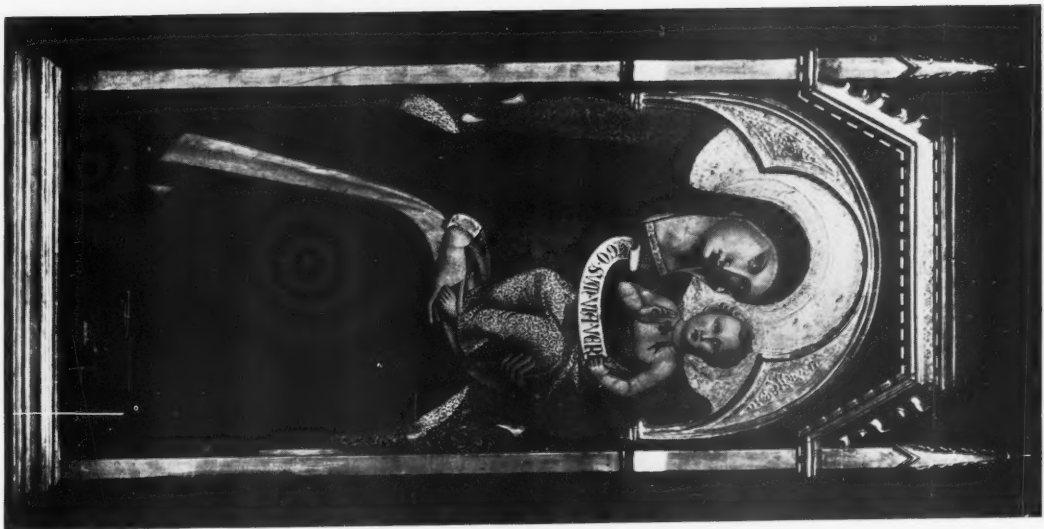


LIPPO DI VANNI: ST. ANDREW
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City

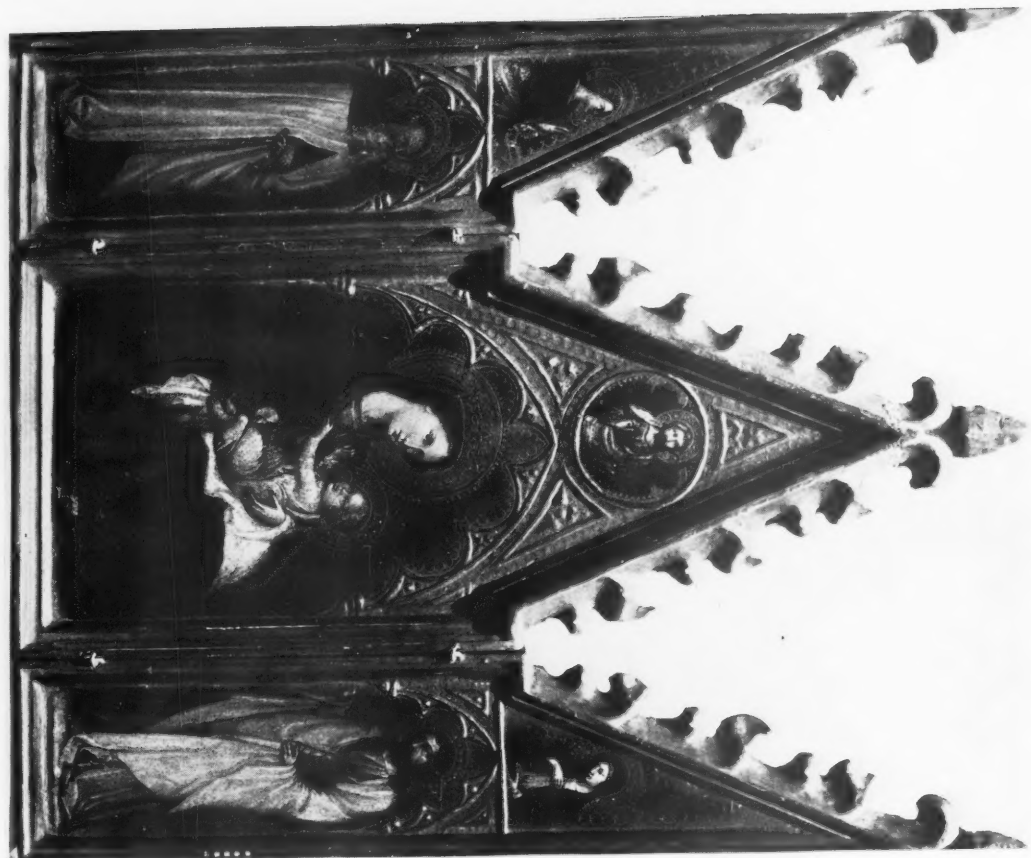


MASTER OF THE FOG: MADONNA AND CHILD
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York City

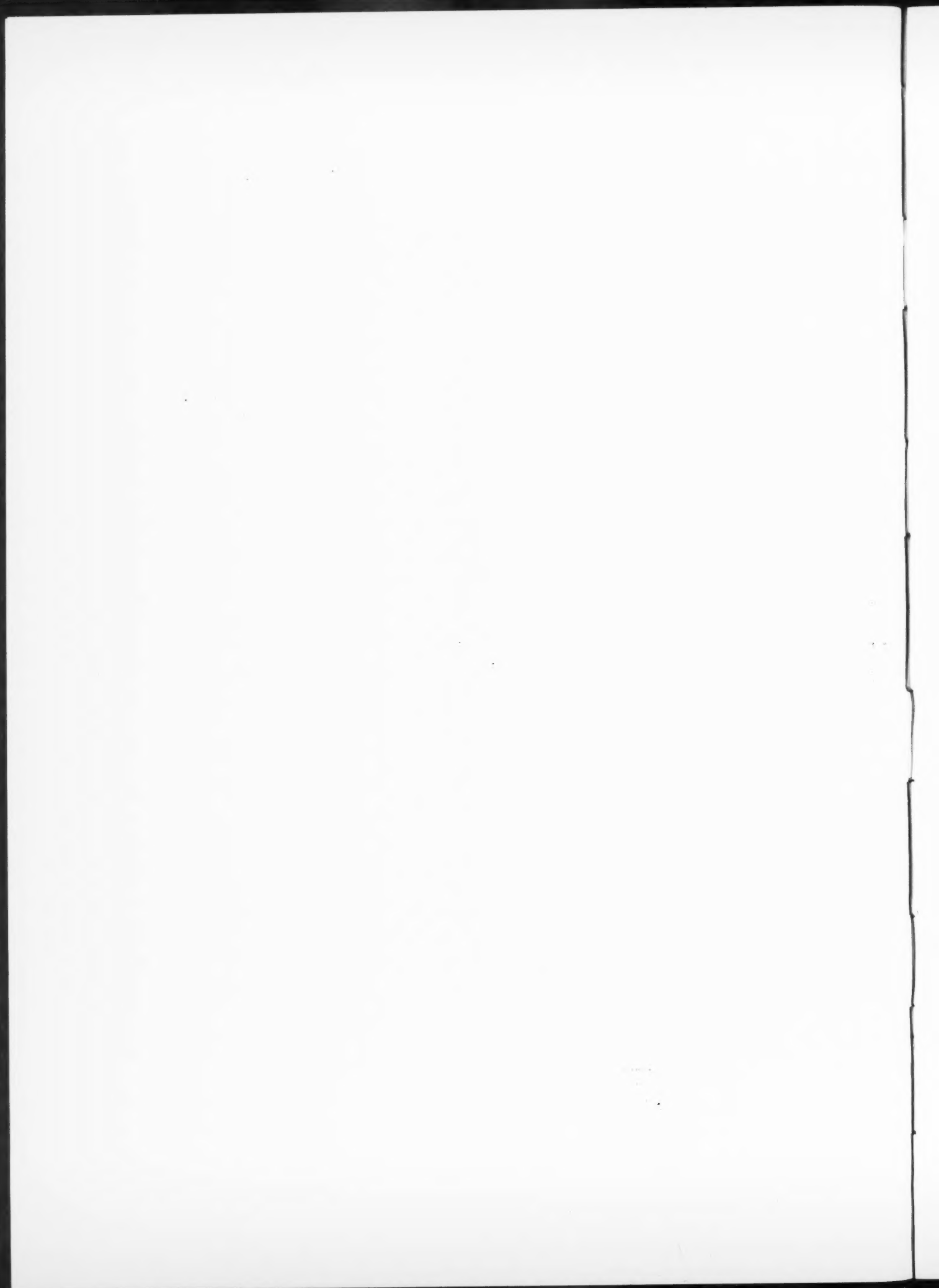




LUCA DI TOMMÉ: MADONNA AND CHILD
Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal, New York City



ANDREA DI BARTOLO: TRIPTYCH
Collection of Mr. Frank L. Rabbin, Brooklyn, New York



set into some large piece of church furniture such as a press or shrine. In either case, however, it is clearly evident that they must have been supplemented by a fifth panel of a Saint, which stood to the same side of the Madonna and Child as did the Apostle in the Blumenthal Collection—*i. e.* to the spectator's right. We can only hope that the publication of this note may lead to the future discovery of this missing panel and to the possible reconstruction, in its entirety, of what must certainly be regarded as the most effective and perfect, if not, perhaps, in every respect the most most typical, of Vanni's surviving works.

The analogies which the attractive little panel of the Madonna and Child of the Lehman Collection by the master of the Fogg Museum Nativity presents in its forms, types, and technique, to the large altar-piece of the Nativity of Christ in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, are so pronounced as to point conclusively to its being by the same gifted and anonymous artist to whom we owe that admirable painting. We leave it to the reader to compare, for himself, the accompanying reproduction with that of the Cambridge picture contained in the article on "Ugolino-Lorenzetti" recently published by Mr. Berenson in this review. Mr. Lehman's picture, which was evidently once the half of a portable diptych, is particularly fine in colour and has the additional advantage of being in a quite untouched state. Iconographically it is of interest as a fairly early example of the use of a motive that was later much favoured by various painters of Siena, and more especially by Andrea di Bartolo, Sassetta and certain of the latter's followers—the motive of the Virgin seated on a hassock on the ground.

The Luca di Tommè Madonna and Child in the Blumenthal Collection—originally the main compartment of a large triptych—has been ascribed to Bartolo di Fredi, nor will its attribution to that artist appear other than perfectly logical and correct to all those students who, of recent years, have come to look upon Bartolo as the real author of the well-known altar-piece representing the Virgin and Child with Angels and four Saints, still officially assigned to Lippo Memmi, in the gallery at Siena. The stylistic relationship of the two pictures is, as a matter of fact, so strong and so overwhelmingly evident that it is impossible to doubt that both paintings are the production of one and the same hand. The altar-piece at Siena was at one time ascribed to Simone Martini. The change to its present more modest labelling was partly due to doubts

first expressed by Cavalcaselle as to the picture's probable paternity. The attribution to Lippo was in turn denied by Miss Olcott and by certain other writers, who, however, did not go so far as to substitute any other name for Memmi's. The opinion, first put forward by Mr. Berenson, and at the time shared by us, that the polyptych was an early work of Bartolo di Fredi, has gradually come to be accepted by most students of Sienese art. During the past ten or more years, however, a renewed and more accurate study of the more or less neglected "minor" Sienese painters of the later Trecento has led us, among other results, to the gradual elimination from the accepted list of Bartolo di Fredi's works, of a number of paintings which in our opinion, cannot be rightly considered as genuine products of that artist's brush. Among the various contemporary painters whom we have found partially hidden under Bartolo's cloak, is Luca di Tommè. Some time ago we were able to give back to this master at least one picture existing in an American gallery—the beautiful little Assumption of the Virgin in the Jarves Collection at New Haven—which was fast becoming accepted as a work of Bartolo.¹⁰ It is to Luca—as creations of his early activity as an artist—that we now ascribe the above-mentioned altar-piece in the gallery at Siena and the Madonna panel in the Blumenthal Collection. Our attribution receives the strongest possible support from a stylistic examination of the two pictures, which approximate, in almost all their details, infinitely more closely to the later and certain works of Luca than they do to any of Bartolo's authenticated paintings. The two figures of the Virgin present, for instance, a series of quite unmistakable resemblances in form, features, and expression, to those in Luca's acknowledged Madonna pictures, of which we here reproduce, for purposes of comparison, one of the most typical and interesting—that in the sacristy of the church of S. Niccolò at Foligno. The large well-rounded craniums; the setting of the eyes and eye-brows; the long straight noses; the bow-like lips; the modelling and contour of the cheeks and chin—all are highly characteristic of the type developed by Luca in his later Madonnas. The somewhat ungraceful posture of the bodies, with the one shoulder raised above the other as if to counterbalance the weight of the Child, and the resultant diagonal line of the tunic across the chest, are peculiar to the master. The hands correspond closely to those of Luca's later figures: the left hand of the Blumenthal Madonna, with its stiffly-bent fingers, to all appearances

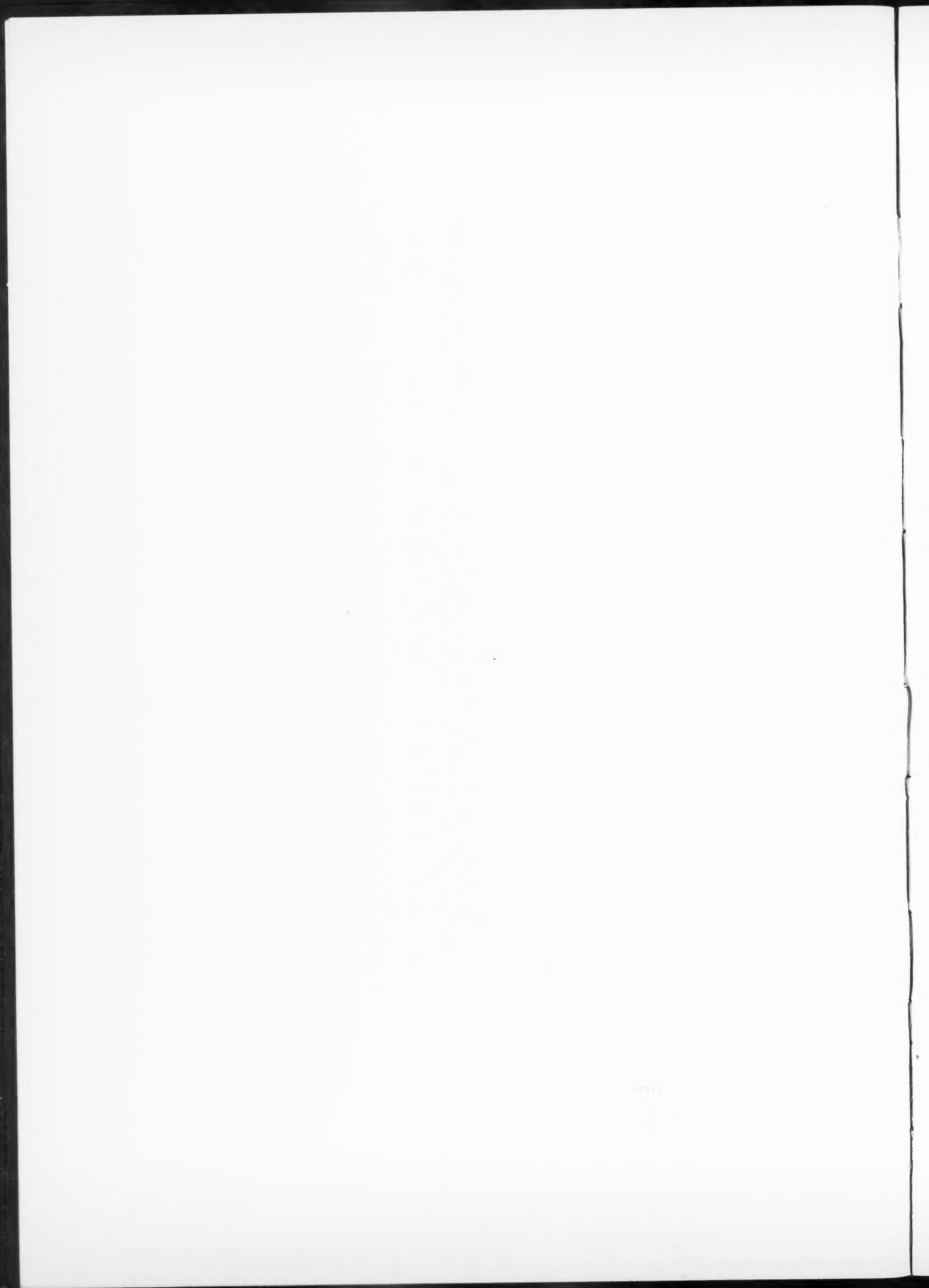
¹⁰ See *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 145.



LUCCA DI TOMMÈ: MADONNA, CHILD, AND ANGELS
Pinacoteca, Siena



LUCCA DI TOMMÈ: MADONNA, CHILD, AND ANGELS
Church of S. Niccolò, Foligno



destitute of terminal phalanges, finds its exaggerated counterpart in the picture at Foligno, in Luca's Madonna at Montalcino,¹¹ and in other of his paintings. The deformed, not to say monstrous, feet of the Baptist, in the right wing of the Siena altar-piece, are identical in structure with those of the same Saint in Luca's signed polyptych of 1367 in the same gallery (Sala II, No. 109). The types of the adoring Angels are closely related to those of the Angels at Foligno, while they differ noticeably from the pronouncedly personal types of Bartolo. The back of the Virgin's throne in the Siena altar-piece is similar in shape, and hung with a brocade almost precisely similar in design, to that of the throne in the Foligno picture. The profuse use of embroidered stuffs is, again, very characteristic of Luca. It would be an easy matter to point out various other peculiarities which our two paintings possess in common with Luca's style, as well as to accentuate the contrasts which they present to that of Bartolo, but we feel that we may safely leave it to such of our readers as are sufficiently interested, to discover these for themselves. That the two altar-pieces at Siena and New York are really works of Luca and not of Bartolo, is, in our opinion, sufficiently evident to do away with the necessity of any further demonstration on our part. Clearly as they proclaim their true paternity, however, the paintings in question foreshadow, rather than reflect, their author's style as we are accustomed to know it. There can, in fact, be no doubt that we have in them two works belonging to a comparatively early and hitherto wholly unknown phase of Luca's career. In neither painting have the forms and draperies, or the brush-work, yet attained the solidity and breadth which they display in that artist's later creations. What they may lack in these respects, however, is more than made up for in refinement of handling and in pure decorative feeling. The colouring (more especially in the extraordinarily well-preserved altar-piece at Siena) is lighter, clearer and more pleasing, the linear design more distinguished, the technical execution more delicate and painstaking, than in any of the master's maturer paintings. With the restoration of these works to their true author, we gain, at last, a fairly complete idea of Luca's personality and possibilities as an artist. Without seeking to exaggerate his importance among the Sienese painters of the second half of the Trecento, we now no longer hesitate to grant him his full share of the honours which have lately

¹¹ See *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, Anno IV, p. 82.

been bestowed upon such of his contemporaries as Bartolo di Fredi, Andrea Vanni, and Paolo di Giovanni Fei.¹²

Although of slight importance in itself, the Madonna, Child and Saints by Andrea di Bartolo in the possession of Mr. Frank L. Babbott merits reproduction as an indubitable work of that rather rare painter, Andrea di Bartolo—the son, and presumably the favourite pupil, of Bartolo di Fredi. The types of the Virgin and Child are alone sufficient to determine the author of the picture. The motive of the Virgin seated on the ground is, as we have already had occasion to remark, one that was apparently much favoured by Andrea (we know of no less than five instances of its use by the master). The head and robe of the Virgin in Mr. Babbott's picture are unfortunately not free from restoration; the remainder of the painting is, however, intact.¹³

F. Mason Perkins

¹² To the several paintings already restored by us to Luca at different times, we may here add: a polyptych representing the Madonna, Child, and Saints, in the church of S. Francesco at Lucignano in Val di Chiana; a large altar-piece (Madonna, Child, and two Saints) in the collection of the late C. Fairfax Murray at Florence; a Madonna and Child in the collection of the late Sig. Carlo Zen at Milano. Closely related to Luca in style, if not by his hand, are two Madonna pictures, one in the Pieve a Salti near Buonconvento, the other in the Municipio at Montalcino (this latter not to be confused with the very characteristic and grandly designed Madonna referred to in the preceding note).

¹³ For all his rarity, Andrea is perhaps better known to American than to most European students, in that the most important of his surviving works used formerly to hang in the famous Yerkes Collection dispersed several years ago. Despite its size and merits, however, this imposing painting is, on the whole, less typically representative of its author than are certain of his less ambitious productions. To the very short list of Andrea's known works (several of those ascribed to him of recent years are clearly not by his hand) we have been able to add no less than ten more or less unknown pictures, all of which await publication. Of these at least half represent the Madonna seated on the ground and are highly characteristic of the master, both in type and colour, as well as in their composition. Apart from the picture mentioned above and Mr. Babbott's unpretentious little triptych, we know of but one other work by Andrea in America—the graceful Madonna belonging to Mr. Platt at Englewood. For a reproduction of this picture, which was long ago ascribed by us to Andrea, see *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, Anno IV, p. 84.

A PAGAN PAINTING BY RUBENS

IN view of the difficulties which beset American collectors and museums attempting to procure important works by Rubens it is a notable opportunity for enjoyment and study which Mr. Harry Payne Bingham offers in lending his *Venus and Adonis*¹ to the Metropolitan Museum. So far as the writer knows the painting has not been hitherto reproduced.

The gist of the story is here admirably told in Rubens' most enjoyable genre wherein the pagan legends of ancient times are translated into his own robust, Flemish paganism. There is little lost of the flavor with which ancient writers delighted to tell the tragic legend, a flavor compounded so charmingly of sighs and gentle raillery. Alas for poor Venus, scratched by Cupid's arrow! She loved too generously, too well. Her mortal lover grew restive, her mortal biographers indulgent. Ovid depicts the goddess, her garments girt up to her knees, exposing her tender and unaccustomed body to the rigors of the chase; pursuing deer and smaller animals through bushes and over rocks hoping thus to hold more surely the love of her handsome shepherd boy. Of lions and the wild boar, however, she is cautious and warns Adonis also:

These, O my Dear, and all such kinds of beasts
As will not turn their backs, but bend their breasts
T'encounter with the rash Assailant, shun:
Lest by thy courage, we be both undone.²

In Mr. Bingham's version of the theme the hapless Adonis, clearly more ardent as hunter than as lover, stands poised in eagerness to be off. His hounds are waiting, his red tunic is girded ready, his horn hangs at his hip and his spear is in his hand. The bronzed, well-muscled back and limbs give false assurance of invincibility. But not to Venus. The enamored goddess sits on a grassy bank beside him, her eyes swimming with tears of anxiety and disappointment as she yearns dotingly toward her young lover, endeavoring with soft arms and fair charms still to dissuade him from his fatal sport. Her black robe has fallen from her leaving her radiant body free except for a wisp of scarf caught across the thigh. Cupid, finding his accustomed weapons futile has thrown them down and, stamping

¹ Painted in oil on canvas: height, 77½ inches; width, 95 inches.

² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: Book x, lines 705-9. Translated by G. Sandys, London, 1690.

in an infant's rage, strives to serve Love by clasping Adonis' powerful leg in his chubby arms.

The subject was painted by Rubens more than once. In the Hermitage gallery at Petrograd there was before the war a picture which was painted about 1615. Here the goddess has apparently just received news that her precious boy "intends to hunt the boar with certain of his friends" (to quote the Shakespearian rhyme), and has hastened to him in her chariot drawn by swans. She is shown alighting from the car and flinging importunate arms about Adonis' neck. A few years later Rubens virtually repeated this composition in a smaller painting which has found a resting place in the Hague gallery. Once more the group is seen in the Düsseldorf example, painted according to Rooses, in the Rubens workshop but brushed over only slightly by the master himself. Of another version which is seen in the Uffizi gallery, the authenticity has been questioned.

Returning then to Mr. Bingham's picture we find the treatment which is largest in scale and finest in point of developed art among Rubens' renderings of the Venus and Adonis theme. The figures are painted by his own hand working with a marvellously sure and easy brush. The dogs and the cool, morning landscape have been put in by his assistant Jan Wildens. The picture was painted (on the authority again of Rooses: *Oeuvre* No. 694) about 1620, in the master's middle period. About the same year he painted his celebrated Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus in which the beautiful head of Venus finds a close parallel. The face, of unusual attractiveness, is turned upward and to the side revealing the full glory of the throat. The fine arrangement of fair hair and the glow of golden light on white skin recalls Veronese. The year 1620 saw the master create also such important works as the Four Parts of the World, the Coup de Lance, the Chapeau de Paille, and the Berlin Bacchanal. A year later the commission for the great decorations for Marie de Medicis was undertaken.

It was for Rubens a period of enormous achievement. The lessons absorbed during his Italian sojourn were by this time completely assimilated. His types became more Flemish, his forms less muscular, his action less violent. Contrasts of light and shade gave place to suaver transitions and saner illumination. He was in perfect accord with his surroundings. Creative energy flowed freely from him in a steady, unmeasured stream. A courtly servant of princes,



PETER PAUL RUBENS: *VENUS AND ADONIS*
Collection of Mr. Harry Payne Bingham, New York City

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he served himself well also. His workshop was filled with assistants well organized and well contented. Riches poured in from eager patrons. The gusto of his nature seems to have found unrepressed expression in his life and in his art. His rich vitality found an outlet on canvases where all is bounteous summertime, where men are robust and well-fleshed and women voluptuously full-blown, types which he instinctively admired and frankly celebrated. Surely a mind to disappoint the modern searcher after complexes! His imagination fruited readily in forms opulently baroque whether he sketched designs for festal arches or swept in the outlines for sumptuous pictorial compositions.

The composition of the Bingham Venus and Adonis has reminded critics that Rubens must have seen Titian's rendering of the same subject which had been painted for Philip II. There is trustworthy evidence in fact that Rubens copied this picture, but that was in 1628 when he was in Spain on his second visit, some years after his own version had been painted. This copy was listed among his effects at the time of his death. But he must also have seen the picture on his earlier visit to Spain in 1603 when he was sent by the Duke of Mantua in charge of presents intended for Philip III and the Duke of Lerma. Mr. Bingham's picture is given a further interest by its association with still another great name, that of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, into whose collection it came as a gift from the Emperor Joseph I, presumably in 1705 at the same time with the principedom, conferred in recognition of the duke's services at the Battle of Blenheim. It was a gift well worthy of the high positions of the giver and the recipient.

Harry B. Wible

A PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN WEST PAINTED BY HIMSELF

LAST spring, in a conversation with Mr. Fairchild Sherman while looking over a catalogue of paintings formerly belonging to John Trumbull—that artist's personal copy by the way—the present writer spoke of the genial nature of Benjamin West as a contrast to the drill sergeant character of John Trumbull. I thought of the man more than his work.

"But West was a splendid painter, too," was Mr. Sherman's reply and whatever pictures may have been recalled to him at that moment, it was the portrait of himself formerly in the Capitol and now in the National Museum, that came very vividly before me. The man's portraits are today almost hidden by his good deeds and his tremendous compositions.

Born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on October 11, 1738, Benjamin West established himself as a portrait painter in Philadelphia in 1756, and in New York in 1758. Two years later he left the United States never to return. He studied three years in Rome and here his gentle Quaker nature gained him many friends. In London, where he spent the remainder of his life, he finally rose to the position of President of the Royal Academy. But good fortune never changed the man. His studio door was always open to any of the young American students in London. For years he was the host as well as the guide of most of his young countrymen. Indeed, in nearly every account of the young artists who came from the United States the statement "went to London and studied under West" reappears with insistent regularity. Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull, whom he helped release as a spy suspect from prison, Robert Fulton and Edward Malbone—these are but a few of the men he befriended and encouraged. He died in London March 11, 1820.

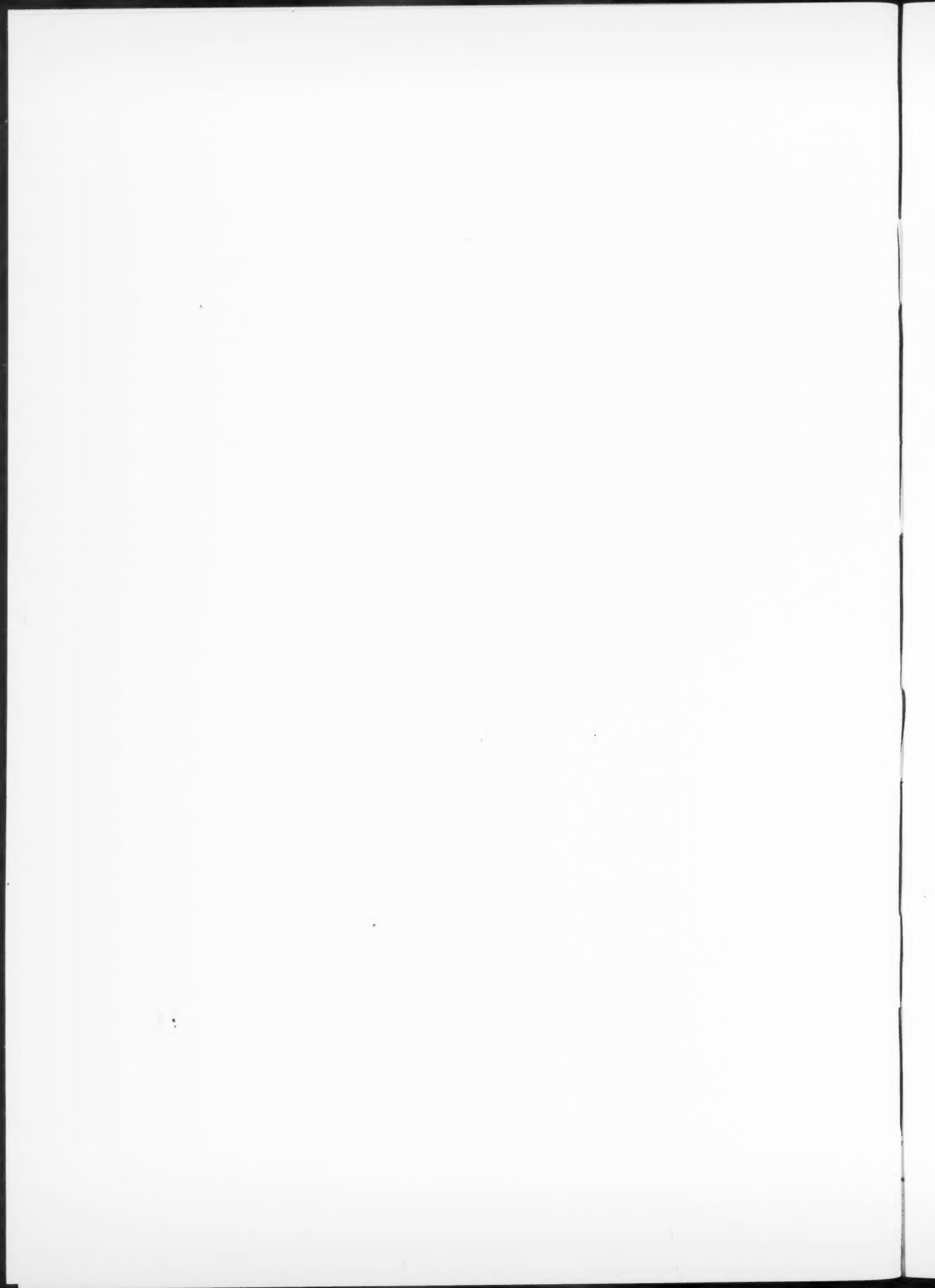
That West was esteemed during his day as a painter as well as a man is shown by the appreciation of Louis David the French artist. "When I was painting the portrait of the celebrated David" wrote Rembrandt Peale in the "Reminiscences" that deserve reprinting, "he asked me, 'why it was that all the best painters in London were Americans', I replied 'Not all'. He added 'West, Copley, Trumbull, Allston'."

There are several portraits of Benjamin West: among them a full length by James Green, a full length by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in



BENJAMIN WEST: SELF PORTRAIT

*Loaned by the United States Capitol to the United States National Museum,
Washington, D. C.*



the National Gallery in London, and a self portrait, painted in his early London years, at the Royal Academy. West is also introduced in the delightful group by Matthew Pratt in the Metropolitan Museum called the "American School in London." There was still another portrait—a miniature by himself of which all trace has been lost. It was exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1817 and in the catalogue West is quoted as having identified it in London. "Now this," he said, "is not a bad picture for one who had never seen a miniature."

The portrait at the National Museum in Washington is a fine example of West's painting. It is the artist at his best. A serious, honest man, his years almost spent, looks directly at the sitter. His eyes are brown, his mouth a bit compressed and deep furrows mark his kindly face. A wine-colored cloak is thrown over his shoulders. The black cylindrical hat is in harmony with the dark, neutral brown background. With something of Holbein's love for still life he has introduced various small objects on the portion of the table before him. In his hand he holds a crayon holder. The picture measures twenty-five by thirty-one inches.

It is reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Holmes the curator, and Mr. W. deC. Ravenel.

Theodore Dalton

THE HAMILTON RICE TAPESTRY

representing

*A Combat between JACQUES DE LALAIN, and JAMES, 9th and last
EARL of DOUGLAS*

I AM grateful to Miss Rubinstein for drawing my attention by her article in the February number of *ART IN AMERICA* to the unidentified emblems on the Hamilton Rice tapestry. The knowledge of their meaning enables me to add much interesting information.

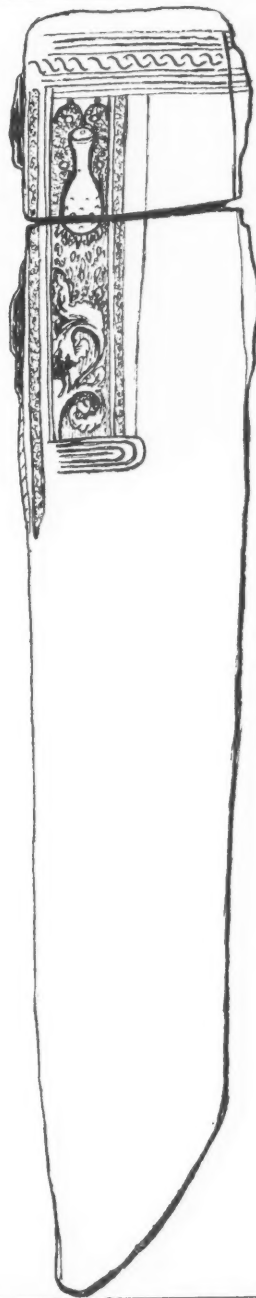
On the right of the picture we have the challenger, who bears, on the trappings of his horse, what has been vaguely described as an earthenware vase. On his breastplate, on the plumes of his crest, and on the banners of his two companions in the fight, are tears *semées*. Confronting him on the left is his opponent, whose horse-trappings have a heart crowned gules, and whose crest has among the plumes a heart gules crushed in a press. He has beside him two companions bareheaded; and behind him three banner-bearers carrying banners, on which is the same crushed heart among pansy sprigs *semées*. It is to be noted that the figure on the right has his visor open, that on the left his visor closed.

It is fair to attribute the crowned heart to its best-known bearer, the Scotch family of Douglas; and I have, from previous researches, the extreme good fortune to recognize and bring together the other emblems.

The so-called earthenware vase is really a *Chantepleure*, a kind of earthenware *carafe* with holes on the bottom, used to water flowers, filled by immersion, and kept full by closing the upper aperture with the thumb. It takes its name from the sound it makes, now singing and now weeping. It gives the title to an old French poem, and is referred to both in Chaucer and Lydgate (see *New English Dictionary*). There is a good example preserved in the British Museum. It is an obvious emblem of grief, but appears to have been specially employed by the ladies of the house of Burgundy. It was borne by Valentine de Milan, niece of Philip the Bold, by Isabel, daughter of John the Intrepid, and Marie de Clèves, sister of the son-in-law of Philip the Good. It occurs frequently as the emblem of Marie de Clèves (married in 1440 to Charles, Duke of Orleans, the poet), all through her life, and is combined with *larmes et pensées*, tears and pansies (see Comte de Laborde, "Inventaires des Ducs de

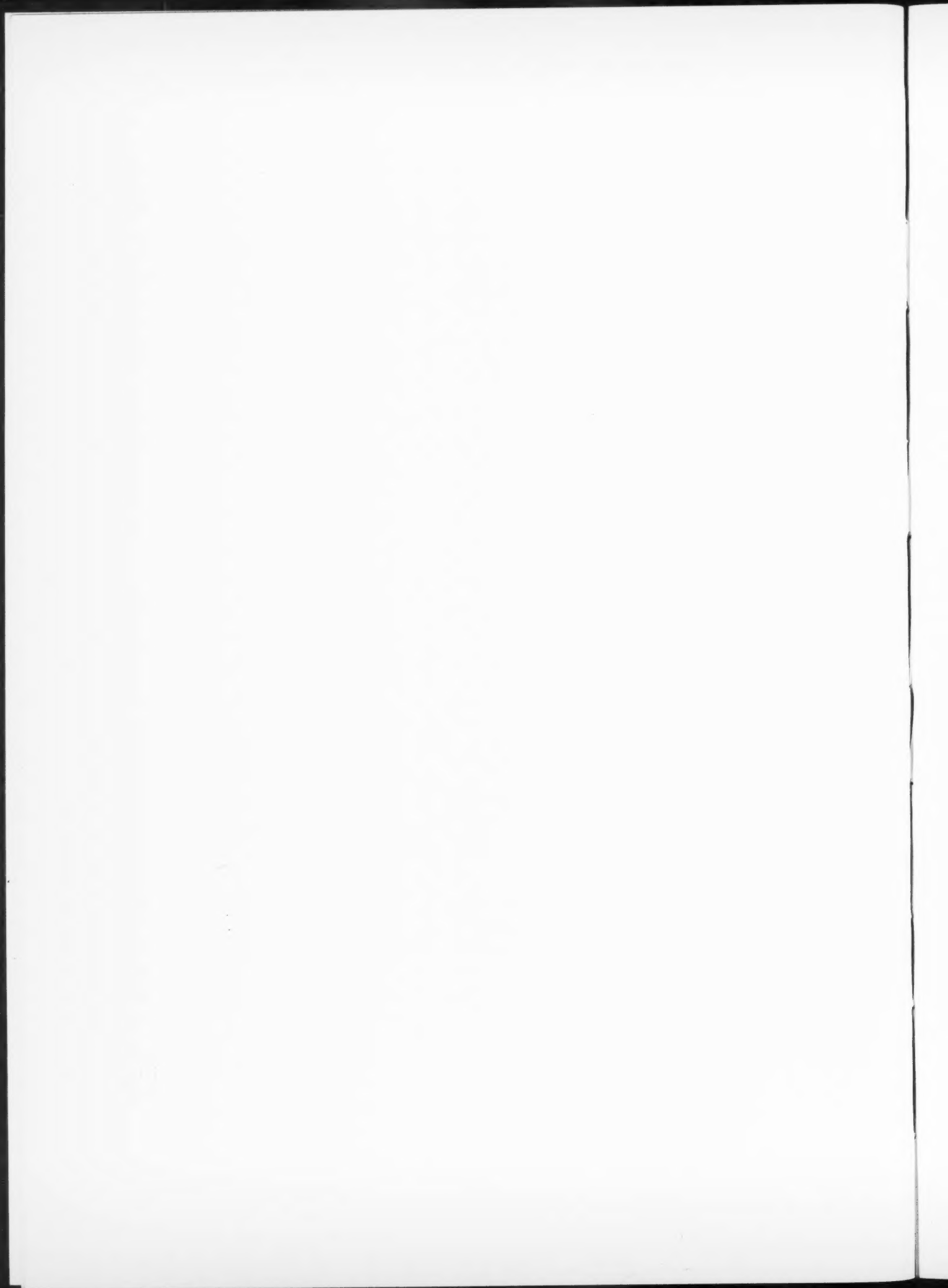


CHANTEPLEURE or ARROSOIR,
Earthenware watering-pot in the British Museum.



DECORATED CASE FOR TABLE KNIFE

in the British Museum, made about 1374 for
John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy,
showing the portion of the ornament which
includes the Chantepleure.



Borgogne," Vol. III, pp. 352, 353, 379, nos. 6722, 6732, 6954). At her death in 1487, she had a suite of tapestry "nommée aux larmes et chantepleures." (op. cit. p. 434, No. 7192.) In the *Histoire General de Paris, Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, (Delisle) Vol. I, p. 120. "MS. 112 de la Vallière, appartenant a Marie de Clèves" is described as bearing on the frontispiece "tous les attributs que Marie de Clèves s'était choisis, une chantepleure, des larmes, des pensées."

Enough has been said to show a clear connection between Marie de Clèves and the knight opposed to the Douglas. But the problem remains, who was he, and what Douglas?

Now, in 1448, three Burgundians, chief among them "le Chevalier sans reproche," Jacques de Lalain, started to Scotland to meet in combat three Scotchmen, chief among them James, Master of Douglas, afterwards 9th Earl. The combat took place on 25th February, 1449, at Stirling before King James II; and the visit was connected with the King's marriage on 3rd July to Marie de Gueldres, niece of Marie de Clèves. It may be noted that the new Queen brought with her as one of her ladies, Isabel, sister of Jacques de Lalain. It is to this tournament that I conjecture that the tapestry has reference.

This and the other exploits of Jacques de Lalain are narrated at great length in *Le Livre des Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*, attributed to Georges Chastellain (Vol. VIII of the edition of the *Oeuvres de Chastellain* by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove). The connection between Jacques and Marie is close and continuous. They were children together at the court of her father, the Duke of Clèves. At the tournament at Nancy in 1445, after her marriage with the Duke of Orleans, Jacques wore her favours. With the knowledge moreover of Marie's emblems, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the most famous of his tourneys, the Pas de la Fontaines des Pleurs, near Chalons-sur-Saône, where he held the field from September, 1449, for a year against all comers, took its name from his ideal lady: and that the Dame des Pleurs, "celle qui pardessus toutes dames terriennes est la nonpareille," as he calls her in his challenge (p. 198, note) is Marie, as already conjectured by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (introduction, p. XVII). Chastellain's description of the allegorical representation of the lady of the tournament (p. 202) is "une dame vestue d'une houpelande fourrée de martres et toute semée de larmes blanches . . . un simple couvrechef, duquel elle tenoit l'un

des bouts en sa main dextre, en approchant ses yeux pour essuyer les *grosses larmes bleues* qui en issoient, lesquelles chéioient en une fontaine rendont gros randons par trois tuyaux, chéans sur trois targes . . . *toutes semées de larmes bleues.*" The Duchess herself was actually present in person at the Fontaine des Pleurs, for some time (see Panthéon Littéraire *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, ed. Buchon, 1836, p. 441). The use of Marie de Clèves' emblem by Lalain is clinched by the account in the same work of his appearance at the Fontaine des Pleurs (p. 434) "D'autre part saillit Messire Jacques de Lalain: et avoit son harnois couvert, *en lieu de cotte d'armes*, à manière d'un palletot à manches de satin blanc *semées de larmes bleues.*"

The identification of the right hand figure with Lalain is confirmed by his raised visor, "car de Lalain portait tousjours son casque ouvert," as stated in the poem on Lalain by Jean d'Ennetières, 1623 (p. 213), and also in Chastellain (p. 176) quoted below, in their accounts of the Stirling tournament. I have not been able to justify the use of the *crushed heart* on the crest and banner of Douglas: but, as the pansies bear no relation to him, so the *crushed heart* may be an adaptation of the Douglas heart as an emblem of grief in conformity with the others.

It may fairly, therefore, be assumed that the tournament represented is, as suggested, that held at Stirling in February, 1449.

The arguments used above point clearly to Marie de Clèves, or to some one in close touch with her, as the originator of the design, though her death in 1487 is before the earliest possible date for the tapestry. She left, indeed, at her death a suite of tapestry called *Les Joustes* (see Comte de Laborde, *Inventaires des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Vol. III, p. 434, No. 7182.), but this could at best have only been the basis of a piece manufactured at least a generation later.

As is well known, the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan purchased the tapestry with others from Lord Sackville's house at Knole in Kent. I have been unable yet to obtain any satisfactory evidence of how it came there: but in face of the fact that Anne de Clèves, the rejected wife of King Henry VIII, held the contiguous manor of Seal, it is tempting to suggest that she, Marie's great-grand-niece, may have had a hand in bringing it to Knole, which then also belonged to the King.

It will be interesting to conclude with an extract from Chastellain's vivid description (p. 175) of the fight between Douglas and

Lalain. The combatants are named Messire Jacques de Lalaing, Messire Simon de Lalaing, his uncle, and Mervé de Mériadec against Maître James de Douglas, le Seigneur de Haguet (John Ross of Hawkeshead) and James de Douglas (brother of Henry Douglas of Lochleven).

"Messire James de Douglas se combattoit de sa lance; mais elle ne luy demeura guères au poing; sy prit sa hache et en combattit un peu et non guères, car messire Jacques luy fit tantost perdre, comme il avoit fait sa lance. Et iceluy Messire James, moult iré et troublé de soi ainsi voir désarmé de la lance et de sa hache, moult vivement et tost prit sa dague; sy en cuida fêrir Messire Jacques au visage, qui se combattoit *sans visière et à visage découvert*; mais messire Jacques, le voyant venir et approcher de luy, moult vivement de sa main senestre le bouta arrière et le fit reculer." They grapple with varying fortune, and at length messire Jacques loses his "baston," his last weapon. "Et quand il se vit debastonné moult tost et vivement il prit le dit messire James à deux mains, par la vuide de sa pièce, et de puissance de bras le fit démarcher et reculer jusques devant le hourt du roy d'Escosse et par deux fois le leva en haut, le cuidant porter par terre et de fait le mût à grosse haleine; et y avoit bien raison, car iceluy messire James, combattoit en bassinet, *la visière fermée* et ledit Lalaing estoit *sans visière*, par quoy il avoit son haleine tout a délivre, et iceluy messire James avoit tout le contraire, et bien y parut, après que le roy eut jeté le baston, quand on luy leva sa visière."

D. T. B. Wood.

A LITERARY, POLITICAL AND MILITARY WATCHMAKER IN AMERICA

THE American War of Independence not only aroused the passions of the opposing parties but also galvanized into action in at least one of the loyalist adherents of the Crown of England a latent literary turn, in the person of Isaac Heron.

The history of this Irish watch and clockmaker and jeweller is briefly as follows. He emigrated to New York in 1763 and six years later he was elected freeman of the city. He had acquired a comfortable livelihood by the exercise of his business, as well as acquiring from his savings 1,000 acres of uncultivated land in Deerfield patent, before the war robbed him and other owners of luxury businesses of their trade. Of a military turn, Isaac Heron was appointed Lieutenant in the Artillery militia of the City of New York in 1773.

According to his own statement of the services rendered by this Irishman to the King and Government of Great Britain, he employed his pen in contributing political writings to the well-known New York newspapers of Rivington and Hugh Gaine. He appears to have written in 1778 what he describes as the Whip for the American Whig, whether as a contribution to a newspaper or as a pamphlet is not clear. Later he wrote a pamphlet while he was in the "most dangerous situation" at Brooklyn, New York, surrounded as he says by the "rebel soldiery" and subject to their frequent interruption. This pamphlet was entitled *Faction, a Sketch, or Summary of the Causes of this most unnatural and indefensible of all rebellions, the first only excepted*.

In February Isaac Heron went secretly, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, his fellow-countryman and indefatigable loyalist and rector of the historic New York Church, Trinity Church, to the newspaper office of Hugh Gaine to prevail upon him to print a hundred copies of this pamphlet. Gaine, in his anxiety for the safety of his person, refused to venture upon the dangerous undertaking, alleging in excuse that he as the printer would be liable to severe punishment if not the loss of his life. Heron, undismayed by the timidity of the loyalist printer, secured the good offices of Gaine's own men to print the pamphlet, which he succeeded in distributing in many hundreds throughout the country, to the manifest benefit of the loyalist cause, as he maintains.

Public Record Office, London: A.O. 12/24, fos. 203-7; A.O. 12/102, fo. 83; A.O. 13/65.

The political and literary watchmaker's original narrative now goes on to mention in justification of his ardent loyalty his success in February 1776 in bringing over to the King's cause, by the powers of his persuasive argument, Archibald Stewart, Esquire, of Huntingdon, New Jersey, and many others, both within and without the American army. One more service was in promoting with all his strength frequent meetings of the friends of Government to oppose revolutionary propaganda, while at the same moment he refused to work at the "rebel fortifications" when scarcely one loyalist dared to refuse, other than the clergy and physicians, who by reason of their professions were exempted from this enforced work. At this time Heron was a captain in the New York loyal militia, having received his commission in the year 1776.

Isaac Heron lacked not the power to wield both the pen and the sword in defence of what he had conceived to be his bounden duty. His power with the first of these instruments was exercised when he presented a petition to the Commissioners of American Claims in London for compensation for his personal losses in the war. In this petition he declares, with renewed emphasis, his loyalty to the King and Government and states how he had refused many solicitations and temptations to forsake his loyalty during the war. Scornfully resisted, too, was the invitation of Edward Milne, of Philadelphia, a "warm rebel," as he describes him, to accept his offer of 500 acres of his fine lands on the Mississippi river for each of his (Heron's) family and retire there.

To Admiral Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe, Isaac Heron conveyed intelligence, and immediately after the occupation of the City of New York by the British troops, he helped to distinguish the loyalists from the "rebels," whose houses he marked out as quarters for the British soldiers. The faithful adherents of the King were now collected by him to keep guard throughout the city, to the neglect of his own private affairs. To so devoted a loyalist, the King's cause in America was always of paramount importance, and although his adherence to so righteous a cause cost him his peace of mind, his health and his establishment, as well as his increasing property and consequence, yet withal he never could repent of his active part in the interests of Great Britain in the rebellion.

In his final statement of his services he claims to have planned the provision of necessaries, such as food and equipment for a new corps formed in New York, with the help of money from his shattered for-

tune. His ruin was completed by the Hessian troops, notorious as plunderers of friend and foe alike, who robbed him of all his working tools.

On returning to his native land in 1778, Heron was appointed a revenue officer by the British Government as compensation for his losses in America and as a reward for his active services in the war. In Ireland he rendered, according to his petition, as much good to the King's American cause as he could have done had he remained in New York until the evacuation of that city by the British towards the end of 1783.

Ann Heron, his daughter, was dangerously wounded by American cannon when his house in New York was hit.

Judge Thomas Jones, the New York loyalist, gave Isaac Heron a warm testimonial, to the effect that he remained throughout a staunch loyalist and was even bigoted in the cause of Great Britain. This was indeed high praise from the Judge, who was a severe critic of many loyalists as well as "rebels." The Rev. Charles Inglis was equally strong in his recommendation to the generosity of Government and offered to attend personally before the Commissioners to give testimony to the zeal and courage of the Irish watchmaker.

William Sharman of Dublin, a brother-in-law of Isaac Heron, is described by him as having been the "President of the Irish Congress."

The keen interest now taken in the crafts of Colonial America may rescue from oblivion a watch or clock made by this interesting figure in New York.

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PUBLISHED BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN
1790 Broadway New York City New York

ENGLISH AGENTS: Messrs. Bromhead, Cutts & Co., Ltd.
18 Cork Street Burlington Gardens London, W. I.

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